



# ***Daily Report***

## **Sub-Saharan Africa**

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31 May 1990

# Daily Report

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**NOTICE TO READERS:** An \* indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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### Senegal, Guinea Bissau Ministers Arrive in Paris

LD2305180390 Paris International Service  
in French 1230 GMT 23 May 90

[Text] Tension between Guinea Bissau and Senegal rose with artillery fire again last night and yesterday morning resulting in wounded and perhaps even two dead in the Senegalese Army, according to a report which needs to be verified. In any case the Senegalese foreign minister arrived in Paris this morning to meet his Guinea Bissau counterpart there. Apparently it is urgent, because the two men have thus decided to have talks as soon as possible.

### Agree To Resolve Dispute

AB2305220190 Paris AFP in French 2054 GMT  
23 May 90

[Text] Paris, 23 May (AFP)—Senegal and Guinea-Bissau today agreed in Paris on a certain number of conciliation measures, such as the withdrawal of troops to a "reasonable distance" from their common border in order to resolve the border dispute between them.

In a communique issued by the Senegalese Embassy in Paris, following a meeting in the French capital between Senegalese Foreign Minister Seydina Oumar Sy and Guinea-Bissau Economy Minister Colonel Manuel Dos Santos, the two countries emphasized their willingness to "find through dialogue peaceful solutions to all the problems affecting their relations."

The border dispute between Guinea-Bissau and Senegal concerning the delimitation of their maritime border has for some days caused clashes between the two countries' armed forces.

Senegalese President Abdou Diouf and General Joao Bernardo Vieira of Guinea-Bissau have "decided that their foreign ministers should meet as soon as possible to examine the practical steps to be taken to restore peace," the communique explained.

President Vieira, who is currently on an official visit to France, held a telephone conversation with his Senegalese counterpart this morning. In the absence of the Guinea-Bissau foreign minister, President Vieira designated Mr. Dos Santos to meet with the Senegalese foreign minister in Paris today.

The two sides, the communique explained, agreed on the following measures:

- "To stop aggravating the current situation."
- "To immediately remove their troops to a reasonable distance from the border."
- "To organize a meeting of ministers of both countries at a place to be determined at the beginning of the coming week."
- "To create a special joint commission charged with monitoring the discussion of this issue."
- "To maintain frequent contacts between ministers of the two countries."

The two delegations thanked the French Government for the "steps taken to make this meeting possible."

According to French sources, during his meeting with French President Francois Mitterrand on Monday [21 May], Gen. Vieira called for "moderation" and "advocated" dialogue between the two countries.

### Agree to Troop Withdrawal

AB2905150390 Dakar PANA in English 1415 GMT  
29 May 90

[Text] Banjul, 29 May (PANA)—The Governments of Senegal and Guinea-Bissau have sued for peace and have agreed to both a cease-fire and the complete withdrawal of troops from their common border, an authoritative source told PANA. The source, a senior member of the Gambian delegation, to the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] summit Banjul who asked to remain anonymous said that both the Senegalese defence minister, Medoune Fall and the Senegalese foreign minister, Seydina Oumar Sy, left Banjul Tuesday morning for Ziguinchor, southern Senegal, to have further discussions with the defence, interior and foreign ministers of Guinea-Bissau not far from Ziguinchor.

Fall flew into Banjul this morning because of the border problem, first met with Guinea-Bissau President Joao Vieira before being received by the Gambian President Dawda Jawara. Senegal's Interior Minister Famara Ibrahima Sagna was not in Banjul but a source told PANA that he would be going to Bissau Tuesday from Dakar to join his colleagues in a joint meeting with their Guinea-Bissau counterparts.

In his address to the heads of state and government of the sub-region during the opening ceremony of the summit in Banjul Monday, Vieira said Senegal and Guinea-Bissau had as a "result of a colossal will" decided to put an end to the fighting along their two borders. He told the summit that no economic integration could take place without detente and mutual trust, justice and equity among member states and said all should uphold African unity to which everyone was devoted.

### ECOWAS Ministers Hold 13th Summit in Banjul

AB2505213490 Dakar PANA in English 1322 GMT  
24 May 90

[Text] Banjul, 24 May (PANA)—The on-going meeting of the 27th Council of Ministers for ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] stands adjourned until after the two-day meeting of the sub-region's foreign ministers which is scheduled for 25 to 26 May, the organisation's executive secretary Abass Bundu, said at the end of deliberations late Wednesday.

Bundu said as of Wednesday, the council has concluded its own deliberations and would now have to wait for the outcome of the foreign ministers meeting immediately after which it would resume sessions to adopt its own



report and that of the foreign ministers meeting. The adopted reports and recommendations would then be placed before the 13th summit of the heads of state and government of the 15 year old ECOWAS body meeting in Banjul from 28 to 30 May.

Bundu added that all along, it has not been possible for a sub-committee of the ad hoc ministerial committee on the selection and evaluation of statutory appointees to meet due to a lack of a quorum. However, the opportunity is being taken of the presence of so many of the sub-region's ministers in Banjul to have the sub-committee meeting on Thursday.

The sub-committee, which is concerned with the criteria to be used in the selection and appointment of statutory appointments to ECOWAS in the future, would report back to its own committee in Banjul which would in turn make its report to the Council of Ministers for their consideration and adoption.

Sources close to the conference speak of a sense of achievement at the Banjul meeting so far, since the discussions, conducted under the chairperson, the finance minister of Burkina Faso, Bintou Sanogoh, were characterised with a great deal of cordiality.

While the morning session was held up for a while with discussions on a non-agenda item regarding the relationship between the foreign ministers meeting and the Council of Ministers within the ECOWAS framework, a member of the Gambian delegation Abdul Cole, said the item on the appointment of external auditors took some time to debate in the afternoon. He said that the first group of external auditors from Sierra Leone served ECOWAS for five years. After that, a group from Mauritania has been in charge of this function for the past six years.

A number of delegates in Banjul thought it was time to change them and suggested that a new group be appointed from Mali, Togo or Cape Verde, all being countries which have to date not benefited from statutory appointments at ECOWAS. But others felt that such a change was unnecessary since the Mauritanian firm has been doing a good job. They even suggested that like statutory staff appointments involving two four-year terms of appointments, the Mauritanian firm can be kept for another two years to conform to this practice.

Both Togo and Cape Verde declined the possibility of serving as external auditors but Mali retained its interest and was awarded the job by the council.

The two-day meeting has dealt with the reports of the executive secretary, the ministers of information, the ad hoc ministerial committee on the construction of the headquarters of the secretariat in Abuja (Nigeria), and the fund in Lome, the technical commissions, the planning experts' meeting, the central bank governors meeting, and the board of directors of the fund.

It also drew up the provisional agenda for the 13th summit, discussed the position regarding contributions,

reviewed the question of ratification of conventions and protocols of which only six states have ratified all 21, and looked into the question of rationalisation of institutional arrangements for economic integration in West Africa. This point covered the many sub-regional organisations with functions and operations that tend to overlap the ECOWAS effort.

Another action taken by council was to receive and agree to the Gambian proposal on the proposed ECOWAS convention on mutual assistance on judicial matters.

### Ministers Complete Deliberations

*AB2605135790 Dakar PANA in English 0920 GMT  
26 May 90*

[Text] Banjul, 26 May (PANA)—The first meeting of ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] foreign ministers completed deliberations on agenda topics ahead of schedule on Friday [25 May] in Banjul and the meeting has now adjourned to Saturday evening when the ministers will meet to adopt the final report. ECOWAS Secretariat sources said late Friday.

In an interview with PANA, the Gambian minister of external affairs (Omar Sey) said the meeting examined various political questions on ECOWAS using the document of the group of foreign affairs experts who met in Lagos in early May.

He added that the ministers agreed on a lot of points and these will form part of a report to be presented to heads of state and government on Monday.

The minister said that one major political issue before the meeting was the question of rationalisation of inter-governmental organisations in ECOWAS. "There are a lot of intergovernmental organisations within the community", he said "and you also have ECOWAS."

He said the meeting as a whole agreed on the need to rationalise the situation in principle, lest "we spend a lot of resources in these ones without making any headway." "If we rationalise this and maybe pull some of them together and where necessary dismantle others—so that these resources and efforts and manpower could all be centered around ECOWAS which we think will make it more effective and viable," he said.

In response to a question regarding speculation that the idea was to dismantle CEAO [West African Economic Community], the minister said "we have not touched on any specific organisation so far. It is just an agreement in principle to look, at most, at all these organisations and decide on which ones to merge, which ones to dismantle but we have not identified any organisation for dismantling so far."

Sey also answered questions on the relationship of the two groups of ministers meeting under the ECOWAS umbrella as at the Banjul summit. He said the ECOWAS treaty stipulated that there should exist a council of ministers in which each country would have two representatives.

"So really it is open: there is room for both ministers coexisting as two ministers representing one country and deliberately on issues pertaining to their own area of competence."

According to Sey, the ECOWAS set-up is unlike that of the EEC as the ministers would meet jointly in their capacity as two ministers representing one country in one council rather than in separate councils.

Thus, "when it comes to discussing political areas, the minister of foreign affairs will lead the discussion and will take the floor and if it is on economic matters or financial matters, the minister of economic or financial matters will participate and will take the floor."

Another topic he said the meeting dealt with was that of disputes between states in the sub-region which the ministers saw as a great threat to stability in the sub-region.

#### **Compaore Addresses Summit**

*AB2805175090 Dakar PANA in English 1637 GMT  
28 May 90*

[Text] Banjul, 28 May (AIB/PANA)—The 13th summit of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) opened in Banjul, Monday with an appeal by the grouping's out-going chairman, President Blaise Compaore of Burkina Faso on member states to strengthen sub-regional cooperation.

The summit is being attended by the presidents of The Gambia, sir Dawda Jawara, Gen. Moussa Traore of Mali, Gen. Lansana Konte (Guinea), Gen. Joao Bernardo Vieira (Guinea Bissau), Gen. Joseph Momoh (Sierra Leone), Gen. Ibrahim Babangida (Nigeria) and Capt. Blaise Compaore.

Compaore said the ECOWAS was a pillar of the sub-region's economic integration activities. The Burkina President insisted on the need to establish South-South relations and cited the forthcoming single European market by 1992, the free trade zone between the US and Canada and among Asian countries as shining examples. For sub-regional cooperation to succeed, each member state should be committed to the implementation of decisions and the payment of contributions, Compaore said.

On the constraints facing ECOWAS, Compaore mentioned the deterioration in the terms of trade, high indebtedness, low capital inflow as the duplication of sub-regional organisations. He said the economic situation in the sub-region had also deteriorated leading to a reduction in the revenue per capita while the total debt had gone up by 170 per cent in seven years, reaching 65 billion US dollars in 1987.

On the other hand, he said the gross domestic product had been reduced by 57 per cent during the same period while the flow of financial resources to the sub-region had gone down by 36 per cent from 9.5 billion US dollars

to 3.9 US dollars over the seven-year period. The Burkina president called for a deep study into the debt problem so as to find durable solutions. He called for the immediate convening of an international conference on debt under the auspices of the OAU. Compaore also called for the drawing up of a protocol for a single monetary union and a calendar for its implementation.

#### **ECOWAS To Be Sole Economic Body**

*AB2905194590 Dakar PANA in English 1710 GMT  
28 May 90*

[Text] Banjul, 28 May (PANA)—One reason why the joint session of foreign and planning ministers on Saturday lasted well into the early hours of Sunday in Banjul was the renewal of debate on rationalisation of intergovernmental institutions in the sub-region, according to sources close to the meeting, which took place behind closed doors. According to the sources, the foreign ministers meeting on 25 May accepted by consensus the idea of having ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] as the sole grouping for economic integration in the sub-region.

Niger, however, spoke against the provision with the support of many of the French speaking states which are also members of the CEAO [West African Economic Community]. The Ghanaian Foreign Minister Dr. Obed Asamoah told the meeting if they could not agree to the provision they had no point in meeting to plan the future of sub-regional integration.

Some countries such as Senegal tried to find a compromise formula to save the day, by suggesting that the provision be qualified with the idea of making the merger a long term objective. However, Rilwanu Lukman, Nigeria's foreign minister and Omar Sy, his Gambian counterpart, argued that this could mean "until doomsday".

The arguments laid bare the ugly fact of an ECOWAS divided between French speaking and English countries, a delegate observed. The provision was then left without amendment and would now have to be placed before the heads of state, the authority for ECOWAS decisions, to accept or reject.

The status of the foreign ministers meeting, which was also hotly debated, has been left to the heads of state to decide. Number of foreign ministers, who see their colleagues in the council of ministers as "technical" or "sectoral" ministers, wanted to have the meeting of foreign ministers institutionalised. Hitherto, there has been only one council of ministers for ECOWAS and it comprises planning, finance or trade ministers, depending on the preference of the member state concerned. In 1987, the heads of state asked that a meeting of ECOWAS foreign ministers should also be held.

Consequently, before the Banjul summit, foreign affairs experts met in Lagos and prepared a report on political issues for the consideration of the foreign ministers in Banjul.

One reason why the meeting of foreign ministers is convened is the increasing feeling about the importance of political issues to the progress of economic integration in the sub-region as well as embarking on a new strategy to get that all important but illusive political will which has been lacking since the organisation came into being 15 years ago. The planning ministers reaction to this proposal of institutionalising the foreign ministers meeting was that there was no need for two councils for both could meet as one council and deal with particular subjects, depending on their areas of competence. Gambia's minister of foreign affairs, Omar Sy on Sunday explained this set-up by saying that "when it comes to discussing political areas, the minister of foreign affairs will lead the discussion and will take the floor and if it is on economic matters or financial matters, the minister of economic or financial matters will participate and will take the floor."

The ministers closed debate on the issue by agreeing that there should be one council "until otherwise decided by the heads of state." This may mean that the manner in which the foreign ministers held a separate meeting to that of the Council of Ministers in Banjul will change and joint meetings for both groups of ministers would be taking place in future. This way, the foreign ministers, who one observer says "have the ears of their presidents," will be involved in ensuring the implementation of ECOWAS protocols and decisions.

#### **BBC Reports on Summit**

AB3005074290 London BBC World Service in English  
0730 GMT 29 May 90

[From the "Network Africa" program]

[Text] Now, let us go away to Banjul, the Gambian capital, where the 13th Economic Community of West African States [ECOWAS] summit is taking place, despite the absence at least half of the organization's heads of state. Our man in Banjul is Peter da Costa:

[Begin Da Costa recording] Heads of state of the ECOWAS yesterday reaffirmed their commitment to the community and agreed that economic integration was the only way they can survive in the post 1992 world.

In his opening speech, Burkina Faso's leader, Blaise Compaore, painted the graphic economic picture of the challenge that faces the community in its bid to emulate the groupings of Europe, America, and Asia. He warned that it was inexcusable for West African countries to hold on to purely nationalistic concepts when such momentous success was greeting the northern hemisphere. Not only had population growth succeeded in lowering per capita income, but the prices of commodities have reached their lowest point in 60 years, he

reported. External factors like the huge burden of debt servicing have served to swell the total arrears of contribution to the ECOWAS secretariat to \$17 million.

Host president, Sir Dawda Jawara, echoed the urgency of the chairman's speech and made it clear that political cooperation between member states was essential for economic development to be enacted. He urged that interregional trade be increased by at least 20 percent over the decade and pressed for a greater harmonization of structural adjustment policies.

A sign of his country's commitment to the ideals of ECOWAS was demonstrated by the presence at the summit of Nigerian leader, General Ibrahim Babangida, who arrived despite his urgent preoccupations following a recent coup attempt. Referring to the trade liberalization scheme, which took off on 1 January this year, he directed members to set about the serious matter of implementation. Reminding the UN General Assembly of its [word indistinct] commitment to assist Africa, Gen. Babangida proposed that a resolution be adopted calling on the international community not to abandon the subregion.

In view of the ongoing problems in many members states, summit gossips focused around which of the 16 heads of state would actually turn up. Speculation that Cote d'Ivoire's octogenarian, Felix Houphouet-Boigny, would make it was crushed by the arrival of Foreign Minister Simeon Ake. The head of state count is disappointing, with Guinea's Conte, Mali's Traore, Bissau's Vieira, and Sierra Leone's Momoh making up the seven present.

Subject of the week has been [word indistinct] of beleaguered Liberian leader, Samuel Doe. The economic planning minister, Elijah Taylor, attended the preliminary council of ministers meeting. Liberia's seat at the opening ceremony remained empty.

The heads of state are now in a closed session, considering the report submitted by the ministers. The most critical issue that they consider is the proposal to subsume the francophone west African economic grouping, the Economic Community of West African States [CEAO], along with the 30 or so international governmental organizations which have placed a drain on member states' financial obligations to ECOWAS. [end recording]

#### **Babangida Calls for Action**

AB2905151790 Dakar PANA in English 1120 GMT  
29 May 90

[Text] Banjul, 29 May (PANA)—Nigeria's head of state, General Ibrahim Babangida, has called on the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to re-examine the implementation of some its key protocols.

Addressing the opening session of the 13th ECOWAS summit in Banjul on Monday, Gen. Babangida said the implementation of basic protocols in some ECOWAS

states had been poor, demanding that new strategies be adopted. The most important of these included those designed to improve the interaction of ECOWAS citizens and the liberalisation of trade between the 16 member states.

He proposed that the governments of member states give explicit policy directives for the liberalisation of trade in certain industrial products. He said that the summit should also establish a six-member committee to monitor the implementation of the protocols designed to enhance free movement and trade between ECOWAS states. The committee should report on progress made in these areas to the next summit.

The Nigerian head of state warned the international economic climate demanded that the states move from mere rhetoric to concrete efforts at economic integration. Gen. Babangida also urged the ECOWAS states to exert pressure on the international community to respond more positively to the sub-region's development needs. This should also apply to the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, he said.

He said the summit should thus adopt a resolution on the international community and the multilateral lending institutions "not to abandon the countries of the sub-region". Gen. Babangida, meanwhile, urged ECOWAS member states to pay up their dues to the organization's secretariat, saying it was still owed 17 million U.S. dollars in arrears.

#### Jawara Calls for 'Radical' Changes

AB2905151590 Dakar PANA in English 1233 GMT  
29 May 90

[Text] Banjul, 29 May (PANA)—The Gambian head of state, Sir Dawda Jawara has called for urgent action to revitalise the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

Addressing the opening session of the organization's 13th summit in Banjul on Monday, Sir Dawda said ECOWAS must if necessary seek "radical means of laying the foundations of a new revitalised, realistic and effective integration process".

He said the organization's member states must move from declarations of their intentions on economic unity to real integration.

This could however be achieved only through strong political will and the provision of resources to the organization.

"If we are to take our destiny into own hands, there is little or no time for vacillation or indecision," he said.

Because the ECOWAS Treaty was very broad, a priority approach should be adopted. This would ensure that the organisation did not stretch itself too thin, Sir Dawda said.

"We should adopt a priority approach based on according resource preference to certain areas," he said. Sir Dawda also called for a streamlining of the functions of some West African organisations as their work overlapped with that of ECOWAS.

The Gambian head of state meanwhile warned that the creation of a European Common Market in 1992 would deny Africa vital aid and investment. A study by the UNILAG consulting group commissioned by the ECOWAS Secretariat had however shown that the common market could also offer new opportunities for Africa's industrial goods and agricultural produce. Sir Dawda called on ECOWAS states to adopt a common strategy on debt saying it was hampering the sub-region's development efforts.

#### ECOWAS Summit Ends 29 May

AB2905221490 Paris AFP in French 2012 GMT  
29 May 90

[Text] Banjul, 29 May (AFP)—The heads of state and of delegations of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) ended their deliberations this afternoon in Banjul after a closed-door meeting which lasted four hours, journalists here noted.

The official closing ceremony, during which a communique will be released, has been postponed until tomorrow morning by the heads of state, it was learned from reliable sources.

According to informed sources, this afternoon's closed-door meeting enabled the participants to adopt all the points submitted to them for discussion. Some of the points, especially those concerning sanctions against countries that are tardy in the payment of their ECOWAS dues, generated friction between "good" and "bad payers."

#### New Chief Discusses Issues

AB3005190790 Dakar PANA in English 1603 GMT  
30 May 90

[Text] Banjul, 30 May (PANA)—The newly elected chairman of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Gambian President Dawda Jawara, on Wednesday said the 13th summit's decision to have ECOWAS as the single economic grouping and supreme body for economic integration in the sub-region was the ultimate rationalisation of the situation the member states had been aiming to achieve over the past decades.

Jawara, who was responding to questions from the media immediately after the summit closing ceremony, said the decision now means that member states would have to make greater efforts at integration.

"Our efforts are now dispersed and there is a lot of duplication in trying to achieve the same thing in multi-tiferous number of organisations" he said.



Correcting this anomaly, he said, would mean the dissolution of all the other bodies so as to have one supreme single community.

On conflict situations in the sub-region, he said the Senegal/Mauritania case was not considered as an agenda item. But he referred to the decision to set up a standing mediation committee within the framework of the ECOWAS non-aggression treaty and that body would be now doing something to diffuse tension and conflict situations in ECOWAS.

With regard to Liberia, on which the heads of state and government have called for a cease-fire and the acceptance of President Samuel Doe's election offer, Jawara said the situation was a fast changing one, "changing by the hour" and what action the member states could take was wide open.

"It would depend on developments," he said.

In response to a question regarding the role of the private sector in the dissemination of information in the sub-region, he said the private sector could play a major role in promoting the community ideals for integration and in the dissemination of community information.

He had earlier referred to the role of the media as being vital, due to its power and influence. He said community recognition of the point has been lacking and this way why, emphasis was now being placed on mobilising mass media to bring the aims and objectives of the community to the people.

He said the ECOWAS secretariat itself would be making a special effort to bring information to the media as it was important—"the media have to have information."

#### **Zaire, Uganda, Rwanda Leaders Hold Meeting**

*EA2605165890 Kampala Domestic Service in English  
1900 GMT 25 May 90*

[Excerpt] President Yoweri Museveni has returned from Zaire after a one-day visit, during which he joined President Juvenal Habyarimana of Rwanda and Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire for talks. The talks, held in Zaire's town of Gbadolite, today at President Mobutu's residence (focused) on areas of cooperation between the two neighboring countries.

The three countries also issued a communique of cooperation between the three sister countries. They reviewed problems of common interest and concern regarding the three sister countries and established a regular summit on a rotating basis. They also instituted rotational regular meetings of ministers of foreign affairs of their countries and also the heads of security.

Uganda, Rwanda, together with Zaire will, according to the meeting of heads of state, enact bilateral extradition treaties and initiate legislation on international literature, forbidding acts of subversion against each other, against each other member state [as heard]. They will

also promote and strengthen cooperation among their security services. [passage omitted]

#### **Further on Tripartite Meeting**

*EA2905173190 Bujumbura Domestic Service in French  
1800 GMT 27 May 90*

[Excerpts] Major Pierre Buyoya, the president of the Military Committee for National Salvation [MCNS] and president of the Republic, returned today at 1420 from Gbadolite where he took part in the tripartite meeting with his counterparts from Rwanda and Zaire. Nvuyekure accompanied the president, and here is his report.

[Nvuyekure] [passage omitted] Before their departure a final communique on the meeting was read by the Zairian state commissioner for foreign affairs, citizen Mushobekwa, and I invite you to listen to him:

[Begin Mushobekwa recording] At the initiative of the chairman of the Economic Community of the Countries of the Great Lakes, [CEPGL] the Burundian head of state, their excellencies Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, president of the Republic of Zaire; Major General Juvenal Habyarimana, president of the Republic of Rwanda and founding chairman of the National Revolutionary Movement for Development; and Major Pierre Buyoya, the MCNS chairman and president of the Republic of Burundi, met Gbadolite on 26 and 27 May 1990 within the normal framework of their regular consultations. The talks focused mainly on the state of implementation of the decisions made at the last CEPGL summit held in Bukavu on 24 and 25 February 1990 and on the situation prevailing in the subregion.

Concerning the decisions made at the Bukavu summit, the three heads of state hailed the progress of their implementation.

Concerning the subregion, the heads of state exchanged information on the situation prevailing in their respective countries. In this regard, the president of the Republic of Zaire briefed his colleagues on the direction and impact of the great reforms he announced in his speech on 24 April 1990. He said that the measures which were taken would be implemented fully.

The presidents of the Republic of Rwanda and the Republic of Burundi took note of the changes and encouraged the Zairian people to safeguard their past achievements, notably peace and national unity, in the interests of Zaire and the subregion.

The head of state of the Republic of Zaire also informed his counterparts on the recent situation at the Lubumbashi University campus and disclosed that a parliamentary inquiry was in progress. The three heads of state deplored the media campaign on the situation despite the fact that the results of the inquiry were not yet known.

The talks were held in the usual atmosphere of brotherhood and perfect cordiality.

Presidents Habyarimana and Buyoya thanked their brother and friend, President Mobutu, and the entire Zairian people for the quality of their welcome and hospitality given to them and their delegations.

Done in Gbadolite on 27 May 1990.

### Tripartite Summit Final Communiqué

EA3005141796 Kigali Domestic Service in French  
0430 GMT 28 May 90

[Excerpt] General Juvenal Habyarimana, the president of the Republic, returned to Kigali yesterday afternoon after a three-day visit to Gbadolite, Zaire, where he participated last Friday in tripartite summit talks with his Zairian counterpart Mobutu Sese Seko and Ugandan counterpart Yoweri Museveni, before the informal summit of the community of the Great Lakes countries with Presidents Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire and Pierre Buyoya of Burundi.

The first summit, the Zaire-Uganda-Rwanda tripartite summit was devoted to security problems in our sub-region. During the summit, the talks centered on security, extradition treaties, suppression of subversive acts, and the promotion of cooperation between security departments. Here is the final communiqué endorsed at the Mobutu-Habyarimana-Museveni summit. The communiqué is read by citizen Mushobekwa Kalimba wa Katana, the Zairian state commissioner for foreign affairs.

[Begin Katana recording] Excellencies Juvenal Habyarimana, president of the Republic of Rwanda and founder-president of the National Revolutionary Development Movement, Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, president of the Republic of Uganda, and Mobutu Sese Seko Kuku Ngbendu Wa Za Banga, Marshal, president of the Republic of Zaire, held a meeting today, 25 May, 1990, in Gbadolite.

The three heads of state reviewed problems of common interest concerning their respective countries. In particular, the three heads of state stressed the questions of good-neighborliness and security. In that respect, they made the following decisions:

1. to hold summit meetings on a regular basis, and by rotation, in order to examine problems of good-neighborliness and security. The first one is the Gbadolite summit held on 25 May 1990;
2. to hold, under the same conditions, meetings of ministers and state commissioners for foreign affairs of the three countries;
3. to hold, under the same conditions, meetings of those in charge of security departments;
4. to finalize an extradition treaty;
5. to ask each national parliament to pass laws forbidding and suppressing acts of subversion against the other countries;

6. to promote and strengthen cooperation between the security departments of the three countries.

The talks took place in a brotherly mood, and frankness and cordiality prevailed. Presidents Habyarimana and Museveni warmly thanked their brother and friend President Mobutu Sese Seko, as well as the Zairian people, for the very warm and authentically African welcome given to them and their respective delegations.

Issued in Gbadolite on 25 May, 1990.

Honorable Omara Atubo, Ugandan minister of state for foreign and regional affairs [preceding eight words in English]; Mr Jean Marie Vianney Mugemana, (Rwandan) minister of interior and communal development; citizen Mushobekwa Kalimba wa Katana, Zairian state commissioner for foreign affairs. [end recording]

### \* One-Party System Said To Be Under Siege

34000648A Nairobi THE WEEKLY REVIEW  
in English 4 May 90 pp 11-13

[Text] All over Africa, the one-party state appears to be under siege from both internal and external forces. Since the beginning of this year, there have been loud and sometimes riotous demands in a number of countries such as Benin, Cote d'Ivoire, Cameroon, and Gabon for political reforms and the introduction of multi-party systems. In Benin, President Mathieu Kerekou was forced by a popular uprising during the early months of this year to accede to demands for political reform, especially the discarding of Marxist ideology and adoption of multi-party system. A national conference called by the government and bringing together 493 delegates from nearly 100 political and interest groups even declared the Kerekou government "illegitimate" and declared itself the supreme ruler of the West African state. It elected a former World Bank official, Mr Neco-phore Soglo, to share power with Kerekou, who, with the backing of a 1,0000-strong and well-armed presidential guard, refused to accept calls for his resignation. He has promised reforms but it is not clear whether this includes the introduction of a multi-party system.

Since its independence from France three decades ago, Cote d'Ivoire has been ruled by President Houphouet Boigny. During the 1960s and 1970s, the country enjoyed unprecedented political stability and economic growth. Things changed during the late 1970s and 1980s: the economic boom in Cote d'Ivoire came to an end and so has the illusion of political stability under Boigny's single-party rule. In the wake of economic hardships has come political turmoil. Ivoirians this year revolted against the one-man rule of Boigny, taking to the streets to demand political change. Clashes with the state security system have ensued. Amid the political turmoil, Boigny has promised not only to institute reform within the country's political system, but also to retire soon.

In Cameroon, Gen. Paul Biya's regime has not come under threat of an uprising, but there have been anti-government rumblings. Opposition leaders have been

vocal in demanding political change towards a more pluralistic system. So far, the government has only promised a few changes but a growing opposition is demanding more.

Things have been quite different in tiny but oil-rich neighbouring Gabon where the regime of President Omar Bongo has been forced to make huge concessions to a strong and growing opposition. Early this week, Bongo was reported to have named a leading banker, Mr Casimir Oye-Mba to form a new government that would lead Gabon towards a multi-party system. The move to entrust the 48-year-old banker with the task of preparing the country for multi-party democracy came only eight days after Bongo acceded to widespread demands for a multi-party system by declaring that a government of "national solidarity" would be formed that would include opposition personalities.

In Tanzania, former president Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere, who has been one of the leading gurus of one-party systems in Africa, surprised both friend and foe in early March by declaring his support for a multi-party system in Tanzania and, by extension, in Africa. Nyerere declared that Tanzania was now ready for a multi-party system and it should no longer be regarded as treason for a Tanzanian to contemplate forming a party in opposition to the ruling Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM). The words of the ex-president, who is still chairman of the CCM, did not go down well with many of the current leaders of the country, especially President Ali Hassan Mwinyi, who had begun to dismantle his predecessor's dogmatic socialist political and economic system in favour of a more practical and market-oriented one. At first, Mwinyi and other Tanzanian leaders were reported to have rejected the idea of a multi-party system outright. However, in a recent interview while on a stopover in Nairobi, Mwinyi declared that Tanzania had not rejected the multi-party system and that the debate was still on in the country.

Perhaps the most surprising news came from Zaire, which has been ruled since early 1965 by Gen Mobutu Sese Seko. After several years of military political liberalisation in the oil-rich the Popular Revolutionary Movement (MPR) and turned to civilian rule. This has never diminished his near-absolute power in the vast Central African country. Both internal and external opposition to his one-man rule has been growing in recent years and there has been considerable pressure from the country's major aid donors, led by the United States and former colonial power, Belgium, for Mobutu to institute political change towards a multi-party system and to relinquish some of his vast powers. Early last week, Mobutu declared that he would allow the introduction of a multi-party system in Zaire. He qualified the concession, however, by declaring that he would remain president of the country, above politics. Some critics already doubt the wily Mobutu's sincerity on the multi-party issue, but he followed his declaration by naming a new prime minister of a transitional government, a former university professor who was more

recently secretary-general of the Economic Community of Central African States, Mr Lunda Bululu, to head the new transition government.

In Zambia, where President Kenneth Kaunda and his United National Independence Party (UNIP) have ruled since the country's independence from Britain in 1964, the pressures, both internal and external, for change towards a multi-party system have become intense in recent weeks. Last week, Kaunda announced that the country would hold a referendum, preceded by a Unip general assembly to decide on whether or not the country should adopt a multi-party system. Some critics of the government doubt whether any genuine change will come out of the proposed referendum, given the complete hold that Kaunda and Unip have on the country's entire political, socio-economic and administrative system. "It would be easy for the ruling party to manipulate the results of the referendum to make it look like most Zambians support Unip's one-party rule," an internal critic was quoted as saying. Even in the countries whose governments chose the Marxist-Leninist ideology such as Angola, Ethiopia, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, and Mozambique, there has been a major rethinking towards market-oriented economies and multi-party democracy. Mozambique decided to discard its Marxist ideology even before the tectonic changes that swept through eastern Europe last year, bringing down monolithic Communist systems in one country after the other. Marxist ideology prescribes the one-party system as the only political form permissible. The sudden crumbling of the Soviet empire in eastern Europe and the major political changes that are taking place in the Soviet Union itself under the direction of President Mikhail Gorbachev, has forced change upon the African countries that followed the Marxist-Leninist ideological line and received much of their aid from both Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Beset by gigantic economic problems of their own as they try to change, they are no longer able or willing to provide any form of aid to former allies in Africa and other parts of the third world.

One after the other, Marxist African countries have had to face up to the fact that they can no longer expect any form of help from their former mentors in the Eastern bloc. The new international tune comes from the West, and the real winner in the international power game is the United States, which has already begun flexing its powerful muscles in many parts of the world. Western Europe and Japan, which could have played a role in counter-balancing the new American clout, are occupied with other matters. Much of Europe, both eastern and western, is now preoccupied with itself and is likely to be within the next decade or so. Japan, although it has emerged as a major economic superpower, is still reluctant to use its economic muscle to influence international events. To a large extent, Japan still depends for much of its economic might on the United States, which is its largest single market. Although Japan has become the largest aid donor to Third World countries, it is still



hampered by a number of both internal and external factors in playing an effective role in international politics. This leaves the field to the United States alone, which now feels vindicated in its international role after the collapse of the Communist empire.

Recently, the U.S. administration of President George Bush has made it clear that it will demand political change towards multi-party democracy from African governments as the price for its aid to Africa which now stands at a paltry US\$540 million.

When President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe announced after recent elections that he would introduce a single-party system in his country, he was sternly warned by the U.S. state department to desist from any such plans. In Kenya, the U.S. ambassador, Sir Smith Hempstone has been vocal in asserting the merits of a multi-party system, in recent weeks, a fact which has angered some local leaders and surprised some in diplomatic circles.

The largest aid donors to African countries are still the multi-lateral organisations such as the World Bank group

and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) which provide project and programme aid balance of payments and currency support respectively. Both these organisations are greatly influenced by American policy. After formulating structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) which have been adopted with varying degrees of success by at least 27 African countries, the World Bank and the IMF are now pushing for political change. At a meeting of the Bretton Woods Committee in the U.S. last week, both the president of the World Bank, Mr Barber Conable, and the president of the IMF, Mr Michael Camdessus, talked on the need for political change in many African countries. Conable specifically called for better governments in Africa. He noted that the nature of Africa's development crisis goes far beyond financial and fiscal issues and that after three decades of independence, too many African countries have failed to produce political and economic systems in which development can flourish... "people need the freedom to realise individual and collective potential. All too often there is a lack of accountability to the governed, a lack of the encouragement which would liberate entrepreneurial instincts, a lack generally of fair competition between farmers and firms. The cost to millions of Africans has been unforgivably high."

**Cameroon****Radio Cites 'High Treason'; Nigerians Accused***AB3005112290 Yaounde Domestic Service in French  
0530 GMT 30 May 90**[Jean-Pierre Biyissibi-Essam editorial]*

[Text] The time has come for mobilization against the fifth column, which always betrays nations internally. The freedoms of speech and association enshrined in our constitution and our laws do not provide for provocation or treason, as witnessed by the national community on 26 May in Bamenda and at Yaounde University.

As a matter of fact, we should regard as a serious attack on national sovereignty and unity as well as a blow on Cameroonians' pride the fact that the instigators of last Saturday's illegal demonstrations had the Nigerian anthem sung by those whom they misled into their adventure. Saturday's events were therefore prompted by nostalgic persons who still long for pre-reunification Cameroon. The singing of the Nigerian anthem by the demonstrators made it possible to expose the enemies of our reunification, which patriots shed their blood to achieve.

This act of disloyalty and high treason is the best indication of the true nature of the authors of Saturday's events and their intentions. These events were motivated by sectarian interests and a determination to divide the Cameroonian people and sell off the Cameroonian nation. In fact, Cameroon's integrity was challenged, and there are no words too strong to denounce the instigators who are unworthy of Cameroonian nationality.

Cameroonians felt all the more indignant as the ranks of the demonstrators were swollen by at least half by Nigerians who had been secretly brought into our country for that purpose. Considering the massive support enjoyed by the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement, which was revitalized by recent elections into its grass roots organs, and considering the clairvoyance of the Cameroonian people, the demonstrations would have been a complete failure without reinforcement from abroad.

Now one can ask how nationalistic this movement is when it gets support and resources from abroad and when its leaders launch slanderous campaigns of disinformation in the foreign media against their own country, although they are free to write in the national press, which is now free from all shackles. Worse still is their proclaimed willingness to lead the nation on the basis of a division between the English- and the French-speaking communities.

They primarily tried to show that our people do not enjoy identical conditions and cannot, therefore, champion the same causes. Fortunately, reality is more instructive. The people of the North-West Province, whom the agitators wanted to incite into a revolt, did not

follow suit because they know how attentive the government is to their preoccupations.

**Chad****Libyan Air Force Overflies Tibesti Region 26 May***AB2705203090 Ndjamenat Domestic Service in French  
1900 GMT 27 May 90*

[Excerpts] There has been another illustration of al-Qadhafi's desire to avoid making peace with Chad. Chadian airspace was violated by the Libyan Air Force this weekend, despite the fact that our country has reaffirmed its stand to solve the dispute not through weapons but peacefully. [passage omitted]

Thus, al-Qadhafi, by violating Chadian airspace on 26 May, has demonstrated to the world that his country is not ready to make peace with Chad. Indeed, the Libyan fighter planes overflew the locality of (Ougoui Misti) in the Tibesti Region yesterday. Once again, al-Qadhafi is repeating his attacks following the aggression of 25 March perpetrated against our country and launched from Sudan's Darfur Region, and this in spite of the Algiers general agreement signed between the two countries in August 1989 and whose terms were clear—to peacefully seek a solution to the dispute between the two countries. [passage omitted]

**Cabinet Adopts Response to 25 March Aggression***AB2705090090 Ndjamenat Domestic Service in French  
1900 GMT 22 May 90*

[Report by Adoum Seif Moussa, information and civic orientation minister, on the extraordinary cabinet meeting chaired by President Hissein Habre in Ndjamenat on 22 May]

[Text] An extraordinary cabinet meeting also attended by the National Consultative Council [CNC] Steering Committee and the National Union for Independence and Revolution [UNIR] Executive Committee was chaired this morning by His Excellency President El Hadj Hissein Habre, president of the Republic and head of state. Only one item was on the agenda for this important meeting, namely taking stock of the situation after the 25 March armed aggression.

In his clear report full of information, the head of state stressed human and material cost of this war and its heavily adverse consequences on Chad's socioeconomic development process. He also stressed the imperative need for Chadians to defend themselves by all means and, at the same time, continue relentlessly their efforts with Libya to achieve peace.

These efforts should continue in the military field in Darfur Province, where the peace that now prevails may be short-lived because of Libya's persistent willingness to continue the war despite the crushing and exemplary counterattack at all levels by the brave Chadian National

Armed Forces [FANT]. They should also continue in the diplomatic field, where Chad, despite its poor resources, spared no efforts in informing and sensitizing people about our legitimate stand, which it also defends. At the same time, we have undertaken to foster our relations in all fields with the whole world. Efforts should continue at the bilateral level and within the OAU, where dialogue seems to be making no progress although Chad's stand is clear and legitimate, namely its desire to implement fully all the provisions of the Algiers accord.

Indeed, every important point was discussed by the head of state before the participants in the session so that all the necessary measures can be taken for our future moves. Similarly, the president briefed the participants on the present efforts being made by some friendly countries to help Chad find a peaceful solution to the same conflict. After debating the points raised, the participants drew appropriate conclusions and adopted measures necessary for peace and progress in Chad. In this regard, Chad should continue its national defense efforts in the face of the increased military preparations under way on the Libyan side, and maintain and foster dialogue at all levels to help seek a peaceful and final solution to the border dispute. Similarly, Chadian diplomatic efforts will be increased in all directions in order to stop efficiently the various Libyan attempts to isolate our country in Africa and in the world.

Chadians should particularly not relent in their efforts to sensitize and mobilize the people for the continued and unflinching material and moral support that FANT needs to accomplish its difficult mission. In this regard, the president did not fail to reiterate strongly his warmest congratulations to Chadian officials at all levels, namely the government, the CNC, the UNIR Central Committee, all grassroots sections, and mainly the entire Chadian people for their self-denial, seriousness, determination, and unanimity in the face of Libyan-Sudanese aggression.

The session, which began at 1000, ended at 1300.  
Issued in Ndjamena on 22 May 1990

### Gabon

#### Parliament Speaker Reportedly 'Kidnapped'

LD3005145190 Paris Domestic Service in French  
1400 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] Elf has resumed its activities at Port-Gentil and is extracting oil at a level of about 90 percent of capacity even though working conditions are not the most favorable. The two wells situated in the sea are operated by remote control from the coast, and the director of the company admits that today only 54 employees out of 950 were at their posts.

Furthermore, the speaker of the Gabonese National Assembly is reported to have been kidnapped at his home in Libreville yesterday evening. He is reported to

have been kidnapped by Gabonese soldiers led by Idriss Ngari, the chief of staff of the Armed Forces. Augustin Boumah has expressed a desire to leave the Gabonese Democratic Party, the only party until recently.

#### Further on Missing Parliamentarian

AB3005165390 Paris AFP in English 1648 GMT  
30 May 90

[Text] Libreville, May 30 (AFP)—The speaker of the Gabonese Parliament has gone missing, informed sources said here Wednesday as a Gabonese opposition leader in Dakar said the man had been kidnapped.

Parliamentary speaker Augustin Boumah's disappearance overnight was the latest incident in a West African state swept for a week by violent protests over the mysterious death of an opposition politician.

A Gabonese officer commanding troops in the oil town of Port-Gentil said meanwhile Wednesday that one rioter there had been shot overnight and about 40 "trouble-makers" arrested, including four "leaders."

Sources close to the parliamentary speaker said that troops had gone to his home late Tuesday to find out whether his nephew, Alain Dickson, head of the Gabonese Ecological Front, was sheltering there.

In Dakar, opposition figure Pierre Momboundou charged that Mr. Boumah had been seized by a kidnapping party led by army chief of staff Idriss Ngari, after the speaker had announced he wanted to leave the ruling Democratic Party (PDG).

The sources close to Mr. Boumah added that Mr. Dickson had taken part in April's national conference, called after weeks of disturbances in the one-party state over economic and political problems.

Mr. Boumah, 63, considered a close friend of President Omar Bongo, was later seen leaving his beachfront house on foot in the direction of Cap Esterias, north of the capital, and had not been seen since.

A source close to parliament said Prime Minister Casimir Oye Mba had been to Mr. Boumah's home, adding that there was to be a special parliamentary meeting on his disappearance later Wednesday.

The latest unrest was sparked by the unexplained death last week of moderate opposition leader Joseph Rendjambe, found in a Libreville hotel by his chauffeur. Some demonstrators accused Mr. Bongo of having him killed.

An unofficial source Wednesday said that an autopsy on Mr. Rendjambe's body, carried out by several doctors, had found no trace of violence nor of the use of chemicals, but this has not been confirmed. Police initially reported that Mr. Rendjambe had a needle puncture in his abdomen, but the source here Wednesday said that

this could have been because he suffered from diabetes. Two toxicologists were carrying out further tests, the sources added.

There was rioting in Libreville and in Gabon's isolated economic capital, Port-Gentil, after the announcement of Mr. Rendjambe's death. A native of Port-Gentil, he was secretary-general of the Progress Party (PGP), formed mainly by lawyers and businessmen.

France, the former colonial power, has stepped up its military presence in Gabon, while oil companies operating in Port-Gentil, which is accessible only by air and sea, have evacuated workers' families and non-essential staff.

Port-Gentil, in Ogooue-Maritime province, was placed under a state of siege Monday. An AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE correspondent saw protestors being bundled into trucks and reported that six people were in hospital with bullet wounds.

The general in command of Gabonese forces said Tuesday that his troops had not fired on protestors and that the six people hospitalized suffered from shrapnel wounds.

In Dakar, Mr. Mamboundou, a Gabonese former civil servant who was expelled to Senegal from France for allegedly plotting last year against Mr. Bongo, also urged French President Francois Mitterrand to send more troops to Gabon. The soldiers should "intervene between demonstrators and elements of the presidential guard so as to avoid the irreparable."

He said Congolese troops, not trained in public order operations, were involved in policing the troubles in Port-Gentil, which would lead to a "bloodbath."

General Paul Poncey, commanding Gabonese troops in Ogoouse-Maritime Province, meanwhile said Wednesday that calm had been "restored" in Port-Gentil adding that one rioter had been shot dead overnight when he fired on a patrol with a hunting rifle.

About 40 "trouble-makers" had been arrested and sent to Libreville, Gen. Poncey said. He added that economic activity had resumed with the market and banks opening, but AFP correspondents reported that only a bank was open and the shops were still shut.

A tanker had docked to take the first crude oil shipment from ELF-Gabon's terminal in a week, the general added.

Gen. Poncey admitted Wednesday that some 5,000 Africans, mostly local people, had fled Port-Gentil during the week's unrest, but said that they were the victims of irrational fear.

Many refugees had gathered at the airport where some of them managed to obtain places on military planes, while

there was a scuffle Wednesday as more people tried to board the naval vessel "Hadj Omar Bongo," already full of refugees.

A young man from Woleu Ntem in the north of Gabon and a member of the Fang tribe said that he faced the animosity of the Myene people, in the majority in Port-Gentil.

"I want to be able to eat," he told an AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE correspondent. "Here, like you, we're among strangers."

There are some 50 ethnic groups in Gabon, the largest being the Fangs, the Batounous and the Myenes. Mr. Rendjambe came from the Myene tribe.

### Demonstrators Protest Disappearance

AB3005201890 Paris AFP in French 1847 GMT  
30 May 90

[Text] Libreville, 30 May (AFP)—Several hundred people demonstrated late this afternoon in front of the presidential palace in Libreville to protest the disappearance of Gabonese National Assembly Speaker Augustin Boumah, it was noted here.

"Return Boumah to us," shouted the demonstrators, who had gathered in front of the presidential palace blocking traffic along Independence Avenue between 1700 and 1900 local time.

The crowd, whose front row comprised women from the Myene tribe—Mr. Boumah's tribe—with their foreheads painted black and white as a sign of bereavement, arrived from the Lalala quarter, the most distant from the center of the capital. The crowd dispersed at around 1900 without incident after receiving a promise from President Bongo that he would visit "the members of the Myene tribe at the estuary,"—that is to say of Libreville—tomorrow, Thursday, in their Mpongwe quarter, the demonstrators told AFP.

"The president told us he knows nothing about the issue and has promised to come and brief us on the outcome of the investigations," they said.

### Speaker Returns Home 30 May

EA3005224690 Paris AFP in French 2205 GMT  
30 May 90

[Text] [No dateline, as received] The Gabonese National Assembly speaker who mysteriously disappeared from his house last night returned to his house this evening safe and sound, it was learned from his entourage. Mr. Boumah, who returned to his house at 2000 still under unspecified conditions, is "very tired," the same source explained. Earlier Gabonese Head of State Omar Bongo visited Mr. Boumah's house, it was announced in Libreville.



### **Opposition, Army Exchange Gunfire in Port-Gentil**

*AB3005110890 Libreville Domestic Service in French  
1830 GMT 29 May 90*

[Text] National news remains dominated by the prevailing situation in our country following the death of Mr. Joseph Rendjambe, secretary general of the Gabonese Progress Party, under still unclarified conditions. This official died a few days ago in Libreville, and yesterday the prime minister addressed the nation on this situation in a radio and television broadcast.

In this message Mr. Casimir Oyemba announced that the government has decided to start a curfew in Lobouet Maritime, Mr. Joseph Rendjambe's native province where demonstrations are under way. More importantly, the Towns Committee chairman, General (Auguste Ndawi), informs all officials in charge of transport companies that no transportation in the direction of Lobouet Maritime can be effected without prior authorization from the Towns Committee chief of general staff. We have word from our Port-Gentil correspondent [name indistinct] about the prevailing situation in the economic capital.

[Begin reporter's recording] Here the prevailing situation is highly [word indistinct] or even alarming. [Words indistinct] Port-Gentil is today a dead town, deprived of everything. There is a real scarcity of food and commodities [words indistinct].

This said, there has been a sporadic exchange of fire between the opposition forces and the Army and Presidential Guard. We were also able to visit the (Paul Gamba) Hospital [words indistinct] seriously wounded. These 12 people were hit by bullets as they demonstrated at the city center and then [words indistinct] toward the customs road, for those who know Port-Gentil.

It must also be mentioned that the mopping-up operation launched this afternoon by the Gabonese Army, which received an important reinforcement from Libreville [words indistinct], led to the confiscation of 11 shells, several cartridges, and various (?guns). I would like to inform our listeners that the facts will be presented on television Channel One and the images will be explicit enough to explain things.

Also you will [words indistinct] note the arrest of over 20 young recruits [words indistinct] barely 12 minutes ago on board an Air Force aircraft. [Words indistinct] investigations being undertaken by military and civil authorities of the capital. We must specify that the events, according to the confidential disclosures made to us by General Investigations Department agents, who have now isolated some demonstrators in Lobouet and are trying to get them. [Words indistinct] the task will not be difficult, for according to what I was able to see, since I went this afternoon on a vehicle of the national Army to

the spots of the clashes, it seemed that what is happening in Port-Gentil actually resembles urban guerrilla activities [words indistinct].

This is the only dead person recorded in Port-Gentil since this morning. I have just come back from Port-Gentil. I was at the (Paul Gamba) Hospital and I tell you that there are 12 wounded people. We counted them well, and very soon we will see them on television. They are more or less seriously injured. One was shot in the legs, and also there was a girl who was hit by a stray bullet in the stampede. According to the doctors of the (Paul Gamba) Hospital, she was shot right behind the shoulder blade. There was also a man who unfortunately lost his genitals because he received a grenade between the legs. This is about all [passage indistinct].

Just now we talked to an Air Force major who just arrived from Gamba, and according to his statements it seemed that the situation is more calm in this part of the country. [Words indistinct] this morning there were several people assembled. Moreover others are due to arrive on board Air Force (?planes) this evening in Libreville or by boat, very probably this evening. The evacuation operation continues and about (?440) people have left Port-Gentil [word indistinct]. [end recording]

### **Further on Port-Gentil Situation**

*LD3005145890 Paris International Service in French  
1230 GMT 30 May 90*

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Port-Gentil, the economic capital of Gabon, is still in a state of semi-insurrection. There were demonstrations again last night, and this morning several districts are still in the hands of the demonstrators as our special correspondent Jean Karim Fall testifies; he has just called us:

[Karim Fall] There was not a single soldier this morning in the streets of the African district of Port-Gentil; it is still under the control of the insurgents. All the crossroads are blocked by the barricades which were rebuilt overnight. Dozens of cars have been overturned and set on fire, and columns of smoke are rising into the sky. More than 36 hours after the introduction of the state of emergency [as heard], part of Port-Gentil is still in a state of insurrection. If one is to believe the insurgents, an elderly man has reportedly died. [passage omitted] His family affirms that he was found dead at about 0200 this morning. They accuse the army of course, but the testimonies are contradictory, and there is no trace of a bullet on the body at any rate.

The atmosphere is tense today. [passage omitted] Because of the insecurity and xenophobia which are taking hold, dozens of Malians, Senegalese, and Nigerians have gathered at the naval base in Port-Gentil to ask to be evacuated to Libreville. [passage omitted] As for the French community, they are still gathered at two accommodation centers under the protection of the Green Berets of the Foreign Legion. In short, for the time

being the status quo is prevailing, and the situation has not developed. Jean Karim Fall, Port-Gentil RFI.

[Announcer] [passage omitted] As far as maintaining order at the moment in Gabon and the attitude of firmness adopted over the past two days in particular by the authorities are concerned, one may note the return to Libreville of General Martin, a [former] French officer who commanded the Gabonese Presidential Guard and who has reportedly resumed his service, at least in a private capacity if one can put it that way. [passage omitted] (Loulou) Martin has remained an adviser to the Gabonese president and the proof of this is that he came back in the middle of last week at the call of Omar Bongo and he has taken part since then in all the meetings of the crisis unit which has been set up in Libreville. [passage omitted]

### Death Toll Reported

AB3005192790 Paris AFP in English 1917 GMT  
30 May 90

[Text] Port-Gentil, Gabon, May 30 (AFP)—Clashes between anti-government protestors and troops in this West African oil town have left "seven or eight dead", Gabonese paratroopers told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE Wednesday.

General Paul Poncy, commander of the government troops in Ogooue-Maritime province where Port-Gentil is located, had said that one rioter had been killed overnight Tuesday.

(In Paris French Defence Minister Jean-Pierre Chevenement said France "hopes that the process of democratization began before the assassination of Joseph Rendjambe and that provided for elections in September will continue.")

(Mr. Chevenement's use of the word 'assassination' came after an unofficial source in Gabon indicated that an autopsy had found no trace of violence on the body of the opposition politician, Mr. Rendjambe, whose death sparked riots in Port-Gentil and Libreville.

(A needle puncture mark on Mr. Rendjambe's abdomen might be put down to the fact that he suffered from diabetes, the source said.

(Informed sources in Paris had earlier said that French doctors had taken part in the autopsy, at the request of Mr. Rendjambe's family, and that France's ambassador to Gabon, Louis Dominici, was in contact with both President Omar Bongo and his government and with Mr. Rendjambe's Gabonese Progress Party "to promote renewed dialogue".)

A patient recovering from wounds at the civilian hospital here confirmed the soldiers' death toll. The patient comes from the village district, one of the poorer parts of the Gabonese economic capital.

"All the neighbors who have visited me have said that seven, eight or nine people have died, and that the families have kept the bodies, as is customary in Africa," he told AFP.

There was a similar disparity Wednesday in figures for those injured in a week of major unrest following the mysterious death of Mr. Rendddjambe, a native of Port-Gentil, in a Libreville hotel.

Gen. Poncy Wednesday said six people had been hurt—two seriously, a count given by medical sources on Tuesday, but hospital staff Wednesday said that 13 people were being treated for bullet wounds.

Late Tuesday, Gen. Poncy denied that his troops had opened fire on protestors and attributed the wounds of the six to shrapnel from grenades thrown at rioters who shot at troops from behind barricades.

(Mr. Chevenement commended French troops in Gabon for their "moderating role", hours after Foreign Minister Roland Dumas told the national assembly in Paris that the soldiers would stay there "as long as the circumstances require" on behalf of French nationals.)

Mr. Rendjambe's death came weeks after Mr. Bongo, whose Democratic Party has run Gabon for 22 years, swore in a few government to prepare a transition to multi-party rule after an April national conference brought on by economic and political unrest.

### PDG Congress Elects New Secretary General

AB2505134790 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French  
1830 GMT 23 May 90

[Text] In Gabon, the Fourth Gabonese Democratic Party [PDG] Congress has finally ended. (Jacques Abiahinou) was elected the new secretary general of the party. He was already the third-ranking personality of this political movement with the post of executive political secretary. After his election, (Jacques Abiahinou) thanked congress participants for his election:

[Begin (Abiahinou) recording] With your help I will learn how to manage a party, our party. I count on your support, and with the help of God, we will succeed. This is not the time to make speeches; everything has been said already. Leaving here, each one of us should carry out his duty as a party militant—that of making our grassroots militants conscientious. They should spread the good news to all our militants that the PDG is not dead, and that PDG is alive and well, and will, with other parties, seek the welfare of our country and ensure that democracy thrives in our country. [end recording]

### Department Dispatches Rescue Aircraft to Gabon

MB2705053590 Johannesburg Domestic Service  
in English 0500 GMT 27 May 90

[Text] South African aircraft have left on a rescue mission to Gabon. They will airlift to London about 220 people fleeing the unrest in the west African country. The planes were hired by an international company, Medical Rescue International.

A Hercules belonging to Safair [expansion unknown] left for Gabon last night, and a Boeing 707 took off from Jan Smuts [Airport] this morning. The Boeing was the one used by the state president, Mr. F.W. de Klerk, on his European tour.

The South African Department of Foreign Affairs confirmed yesterday that it had arranged landing rights for the two planes. The people to be removed from Gabon are mainly French, British, and American citizens.

### Botswana Rejects Bophuthatswana's Merger Efforts

MB2505182590 Johannesburg NEW NATION  
in English 25-31 May 90 p 1

[Text] Botswana this week flatly rejected overtures from Bophuthatswana for a merger, thus putting paid to the Lucas Mangope's hope of becoming part of the Frontline States.

The Botswana government's response effectively leaves Mangope with just two options, neither of which allows for the continued existence of Bophuthatswana as an independent homeland.

One option is to follow the Transkei and align himself with the ANC [African National Congress]. The other is to go the Ciskei road and stick with the National Party. This is guaranteed to precipitate massive popular resistance.

Mangope was not available for comment and was said to be "away." But the homeland's stand-in white president, Rowan Cronje, this week told NEW NATION, that reincorporation into South Africa was still not on the agenda.

With Mangope not in office and the homeland's foreign affairs portfolio vacant, Cronje, is effectively "head of state."

He told NEW NATION that Bophuthatswana would also not consider a referendum to gauge opinion on whether there was support for its continue "independence." A referendum would only be considered, he said, once a new South Africa had been assessed.

Mangope has been touting the idea of a merger with Botswana as a way of avoiding a collapse of homeland independence, which has seen Transkei, Ciskei and Venda assuming military rule.

But Botswana described Bophuthatswana's proposal as a "non-starter" and not even worth considering.

A Botswana foreign affairs spokesperson confirmed that Bophuthatswana had been making overtures—both private and open—over a period. He said, however, that

Botswana saw Bophuthatswana as nothing more than a part of a unitary South African state.

Botswana country was a member of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), and fully subscribed to the OAU declaration on colonial boundaries in respect of defined borders.

The spokesperson said while there could be genuine cultural and social ties between themselves and "people across the fence [Bophuthatswana]," that relationship could not be taken further.

The spokesperson asked not to be named for fear that he may be targeted by Mangope's agents for attack.

Bophuthatswana is known to have been used as a springboard for attacks by South African hit squads on ANC and PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] members in Botswana.

"Based on the past experience, president Lucas Mangope could take it out personally against me," he said.

In the past week, Bophuthatswana has been marketing—through the SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] television—initiatives for a new future. This included the Botswana option and consultation with various political organisations like the ANC and PAC.

### 30 May Press Review on Current Problems, Issues

MB3005110590

[Editorial Report]

#### THE STAR

'Astute Move' for Inkatha to Broaden Base—"Clearly the process of shaping the new South Africa must involve more than the two players currently holding centre stage, the National Party and the ANC [African National Congress]," declares a page 14 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 30 May. The Natal-based Inkatha is "sensing the danger of being pushed aside," and has announced its transformation from "a liberation movement into an all-South African political party." "To attempt to broaden Inkatha's base at this juncture is an astute move on the part of Chief Buthelezi. But it may have come too late. His prestige was at a peak two years ago, when his Natal Indaba had served as a kind of mini national convention, successfully negotiating a plan for multiracial government in the province. Since then Inkatha has lost prestige through its involvement in the endemic political bloodshed in Natal."

Change Process Must Not Depend on Personalities—A second editorial on the same page says the "momentary flurry" over Nelson Mandela's operation is "a timely reminder to everyone that personalities must not become as important as the process of change itself. South Africa and the world have projected their own hopes rather too vigorously on to the individuals leading this country's political evolution. As a result, Mr. Mandela and Mr. de Klerk have, unavoidably, become the



embodiment of the hopes of millions." "What is important is that the process itself does not atrophy within the personal limitations. Others must come forward to share the load and keep the process moving forward."

#### BUSINESS DAY

**Defence Force Must Define Enemy**—Johannesburg **BUSINESS DAY** in English on 30 May in a page 8 editorial advises the South African Defense Force to "define the enemy" before more people are conscripted. "We do not deny the need for a Defence Force, efficient, with modern equipment and backed by the best research and development compatible with the country's means and requirements. In the current context, this means a small force packing a big punch, not the continued call-up of thousands whose civilian expertise is either unsuited to military needs or can be ignored." **BUSINESS DAY** notes that maintaining order inside and outside the troubled black townships is a matter for the police. "The need is for more policemen, particularly more black policemen, not more soldiers."

**U.S. Visit Postponement 'Wise'**—President de Klerk's decision to postpone a meeting with President Bush is "wise" observes a second editorial on the same page. "Indeed, it is hard to see what might be gained by an American visit while the sanctions lobbies are aroused and determined to make a last stand, and while powerful elements of American society see in South Africa and in President de Klerk nothing more than an electoral issue to exploit. Whatever symbolic value a visit to the White House might have had, it has been pre-empted by the State President's highly symbolic readmission to Europe." "Far better to work at making a success of new policies at home than to try to shift the American behemoth off its course. It is safer to let the beast turn in its own good time."

#### SOWETAN

**Mandela's Hospitalization 'Distressing'**—Johannesburg **SOWETAN** in English on 30 May in a page 6 editorial says the "news that Mr. Nelson Mandela is in hospital is distressing as the entire nation is touched, if not shaken by such an announcement." **SOWETAN** is "anxious that he should get some well-deserved rest."

#### SOUTH

**ANC Must Prioritize Media**—Don Pinnock, a lecturer in journalism at Rhodes University in Grahamstown, writes on page 19 of Cape Town **SOUTH** in English for 23-29 May that "as the struggle for political power sharpens, what reaches the constituents of the power brokers cannot be a matter of indifference. With control of the airwaves in the hands of the government, and with about 80 percent of the press less than friendly to the aims of most people in South Africa, progressive organisations are at a terrible disadvantage in the peace

process." "Despite some support from the small and gallant progressive weekly papers, the ANC and the MDM [Mass Democratic Movement] have failed to make the battle of the airwaves a national strategy and will suffer the consequences in any future test of power at the ballot box. Media is not being prioritised, and it should be."

#### THE NATAL WITNESS

**Ministerial Statements Shows Policy Shifts**—Pietermaritzburg **THE NATAL WITNESS** in English on 18 May in a page 12 editorial states: "The Minister of Home Affairs declared that race classification was no longer acceptable and that the Population Registration Act must be repealed as soon as possible. The Minister of Development Aid stated that the future of the homelands was 'negotiable'. The Deputy Minister of Education and Training announced that the Government was prepared to talk about a single education system. The Minister of Defence said consideration was being given to drawing national servicemen from all population groups." "While there may be reservations about the details implicit in these police statements, together they represent dramatic shifts. These ministerial pronouncements must inevitably strengthen the hand of Mr. de Klerk, both in his travels abroad and in negotiations at home."

#### 31 May Press Review on Current Problems, Issues

MB3105090090

[Editorial Report]

#### THE STAR

**De Klerk Takes 'Brer Rabbit' Approach on U.S. Visit**—A page 8 editorial in Johannesburg **THE STAR** in English on 31 May reads: "We have no doubt that President de Klerk has acted wisely in postponing indefinitely his trip to Washington to meet President Bush. To go now would play into the hands of hostile interests seeking, for their own domestic purposes, to embarrass the Bush administration over the timing of the De Klerk and Mandela visits. It would also put at risk the public relations benefits won by Mr de Klerk on his recent sweep through Europe. The President cannot hope to compete with the wave of adulation poised to break around Mr Mandela; nor should he try to. At this stage there is much to be said for the Brer Rabbit option—lie low and say nuffin'. Mr de Klerk's courteous and carefully measured response to his U.S. invitation—it will be taken up later, at a time when it can make a more positive contribution to mutual relations—not only lets President Bush off an uncomfortable hook, it confirms the South African leader's growing sure-footedness in the international arena. If Mr de Klerk makes good his undertakings to European leaders—and the southern Africa region becomes a beacon of hope on the African continent—the time may come when President Bush will be positively eager to welcome him to Washington."

## Mozambique

### Marcelino dos Santos Heads Cuban Committee

MB2605193690 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese  
1730 GMT 26 May 90

[Text] The Mozambique-Cuba Friendship and Solidarity Committee was created in Maputo today. Marcelino dos Santos was appointed chairman of the committee, and Health Minister Leonardo Simao its deputy chairman. The Mozambique-Cuba Friendship and Solidarity Committee has 73 members, primarily former students and teachers at Mozambican schools in Cuba.

Cuban Ambassador to Mozambique Jose Eloy Valdes, Education Minister Aniceto dos Muchangos, and members of the diplomatic corps accredited in Maputo attended the ceremony.

### Discusses Cuban Relations

MB2605195390 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese  
1730 GMT 26 May 90

[Text] The Mozambique-Cuba Friendship and Solidarity Committee was formed today. Marcelino dos Santos, member of the Political Bureau of the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party Central Committee and chairman of the People's Assembly, presided over the ceremony.

Speaking on the occasion, he said that he expected the creation of the committee to strengthen relations between the two peoples. Marcelino dos Santos said the event took place at a time when profound transformations were taking place in search of peace in Mozambique.

[Begin Dos Santos recording] For Mozambique it is important that we combine all forms of external support in order for us to stay put and uphold our statement that Mozambique will neither be a land of servants nor a land dominated by armed bandits. Mozambique will never be a bantustan of apartheid.

At this precise moment it is (?worthwhile) that we, Cuba and Mozambique, should assert ourselves in that manner. In doing so, we are saluting the times looming on the horizon, because armed banditry will end. [end recording]

### Frelimo, CPC Begin Talks in Maputo 30 May

MB3005124790 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese  
1030 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] Talks between the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party and the CPC began in Maputo this morning. The two party teams are exchanging views on organizational issues.

The CPC team is led by Meng Liankun, CPC Central Committee assistant secretary. It arrived in Maputo on 29 May and is expected to remain in our country for several days.

### \* Managers Discuss Economic Recovery Plan

90AF0104A Maputo TEMPO in Portuguese  
8 Apr 90 pp 12-15

[Commentary by Alfredo Tembe]

[Text] In the twists and turns of business anywhere there are always some people who sit in the front row. They are the recipients of both the laurels and the criticisms that disparage the prosperity or denounce the economic and financial collapse of the enterprises they head. We are talking about the managers who, in present-day Mozambique are still trying to assert themselves as such.

In order to understand the situations that Mozambican managers face during the current phase of the Economic Recovery Program, we need to go back in time—to an era that can be summarized as a 12-year period when the State assumed the role of "universal manager" because of the nature of the centralized economic planning system. A company manager who, when many proprietors and businessmen abandoned their production facilities, was chosen from among the workers on the basis of good political credentials but had not previously been involved in the managerial process, has no field of action that would permit him to act as such. He resembles a link in the chain of command who carries out tasks generated by the "public manager."

Those managers—most of them anyway—lacked both pertinent experience and the training needed to administer their companies. Furthermore, they had to work with equipment that, in many cases, was already near the end of its useful life and needed to be replaced. This situation still prevails, and to an even greater degree. Therefore it was vital that the public manager (the State) invest in equipment replacement, as well as in training the people who were called on to keep the companies going after nationalization or government intervention in their administration. However, this was not done, not only because of mistakes made by the public manager but—primarily—because of the reduction in the sources of State revenues: the decline in the flow of Mozambican labor toward the South African mines; the closing of the borders with what was then Southern Rhodesia, thus halting railroad traffic to the countries of the hinterland [word published in English], a policy move for which the international community made no financial compensation; the effects of the war of destabilization; and recurrent natural disasters.

These factors generally reduced the ability of the State to participate in solving the problems that beset the companies, to such an extent that managers ended up "keeping vigil beside the bed of a terminally ill patient." Or, to paraphrase one economist, "overseeing the maintenance of something that used to exist."

### The PRE and the New Mentality

The inauguration of the Economic Recovery Program [PRE] introduced a series of changes. The main one was the conversion, still under way, from a centralized economy to a market economy. As Julio de Paula e Silva, representative of COMEL puts it, it was necessary to "change the mentality of the managers." Or, in the words of Carlos Pais, managing director of EMPLAMA, to "put more emphasis on company organization and revitalize the production area."

That the mentality must change is undeniable. It is just that many of yesterday's managers had no experience at all in their fields, and they were able to effectively assume their roles only under a certain model. Now that new attitudes are required, they have trouble getting in step with the dynamics of a new situation. Furthermore, the State itself has not yet done the about-face entailed in making the transition from a State conceived to operate in a planned economy to one that operates in a market economy.

This loss of a godfather which according to Belmiro Baptista, director general of Hortofruticola, caught some managers somewhat unprepared "made us more careful in managing our businesses. Prior to the PRE, managerial mistakes were easily overcome because they did not have the impact they now have. Furthermore, the PRE would not tolerate a management error because the costs are high."

We have been on this road for three years now. Since companies differ, says Baptista, it is natural that the PRE affects them differently. In support of this statement Yakoob Ahmed Lunat, owner of the OTEX organization, says that "we did not have really serious problems in adapting to the PRE." This refers only to the productivity of the companies associated with OTEX thanks to the fact, says Lunat, that OTEX had good relations with its workers and other economic agents. However, he adds, the continual devaluations and price increases "put us in a tough situation, since few people have money to spend. For example, in 1984 a mattress made by OTEX cost 2,000 meticaís. Now it is gone up to 12,000 meticaís." Aggravating the situation are problems in distributing their merchandise because of the war. The market in Maputo is pretty well saturated and can't absorb all the goods.

The managers face a huge challenge. As Paula e Silva says "I am holding on under circumstances no one else would put up with." Despite everything, his company (COMEL) is in good financial shape because "I have few expenses, and my earnings are high." COMEL, which sells farm equipment such as tractors, motorized pumps and irrigation pipes, in addition to performing other functions, survives on imports made through foreign assistance and some World Bank financing.

### A World of Problems

This situation, according to Paula e Silva, will defeat any management plan inasmuch as "the interest we have to pay the State on every import ranges from 30 to 32 percent of the total value of the goods, and that makes the product expensive." Furthermore, adds Paula e Silva, on each shipment "we are forced to import an additional 20 percent in the form of spare parts, yet we sell hardly any of them. Many of the motorized pumps we sold in 1984 still have not come back for repair." Therefore, "as a manager, if I could choose how to spend my money I would not buy that many spare parts. I am buying things that, as a manager, I should not be buying."

The impact of the PRE on EMPLAMA, a company founded in 1986, has not been a source of much concern. Carlos Pais did say, however, that his firm had to improve the quality of its product and its presentation on the market. To do that, he made major investments in the industrial plant to equip it with new technology. But in Baptista's opinion, whether one makes a better-quality or mediocre product depends a little on the market. "What is important is that all the products we make take the consumer into account. When I talk about improving the quality," says Baptista, "I am not talking about competing with the imported products." In any event, he adds, "these days, I am happy to say, I see an improvement in what is offered to the customer. It is not that production conditions are better than they were before the PRE. The demand for quality comes from the market the producer is serving."

When you talk about the quality of the product being offered, a challenge that all managers face, you cannot just speak in theoretical terms. To achieve quality you have to rehabilitate the industrial plant and equipment. But, according to Carlos Pais, "money is very expensive. Loans granted under present policy carry extremely high interest rates." This means that "few companies will be able to rehabilitate their industrial structure." There is "hardly any" solution to this problem "unless the government takes another look at the issue, because businessmen alone cannot invest millions," Pais adds.

On the subject of relations with the banking community, Lunat notes that a decree was issued without any advance notice, requiring that an applicant for credit have in hand from 25 to 50 percent of the amount he is asking for. "In my opinion, although my own firm will not be hurt by this decree, people should have been given plenty of advance notice so that they would be prepared. Some firms have finalized an import purchase, but have to wait for the money until they can satisfy the bank's requirements. Meanwhile, the goods are being held in Customs."

Baptista looks back, and says that "I think that under the business system in effect prior to the PRE, there was a certain tendency for relations between business and banks to resemble relations between similar institutions."



It was not an economic relationship. All over the world, businesses are the clients of banks. But this practice fell into disuse in this country, and the banks financed certain companies on criteria defined from above—on administrative and bureaucratic grounds." It has not been easy to change that mentality among the businessmen. Furthermore, says Baptista, "the banks still do not have the kind of flexibility that characterizes an institution that serves the interests of business."

At any rate, resorting to credit is considered technically feasible when the money it will be put to a use that will generate profits at rates above the interest rate. But the current high interest rates and obsolete equipment would seem to block the road for many firms.

High interest rates are one side of the coin. Other problems vex the businessmen: tariffs also are high (30 percent), and tax policy on certain products needs to be reviewed. Baptista says the turnover tax his company pays—to which the consumer does not contribute, as would be desirable—"manifests itself in a rather negative way. I think that taxes are adjustable; they should be corrected where possible." In addition to these two components that worry business managers, Carlos Pais says that the profit margins earned by those involved in selling the products his factory makes are high. "For example, our products turn up on the market at prices 80 percent about the ex-factory price. So, productivity efforts will not be very great while those margins prevail."

Lunat says, "another way in which the PRE has hurt many local industrialists is through importation. Many traders have received authorization to import and export items that, very often, are available here. What good is our industry?" He feels that local industry should be protected. However, Paula e Silva counters this by saying that "although Mozambican industry is very fragile, both technically and financially, we should never demand protectionist measures, because then marginal capital, not the capitalists, would prosper. I mean that industries lose vitality without competition and become financial and technical parasites."

Despite all these problems that trouble the managers, Baptista says it is important to protect the autonomy of the businessman, regardless of the form of ownership. "Increasingly, the State must refrain from intervening administratively in the economic sphere." This is the so-called 180-degree turn that the State must make if the market economy required by the PRE is to develop.

#### \* Minister Discusses Health Issues at Conference

90AF0107A Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese  
10 Apr 90 p 1

[Text] According to Dr. Leonardo Simao, Mozambican minister of health, our priority is to broaden the coverage of the health programs in the urban areas, to which millions of Mozambicans have fled in search of security. Last evening in the nation's capital, the government

member addressed the more than 200 delegates attending the opening session of the Fourth International Conference on Health in Southern Africa. The conference should end next Thursday.

As priorities defined for his sector, Leonardo Simao also noted the rebuilding of the health establishments in the rural areas, rehabilitation of the malnourished, immunization of the displaced people, the reunification of families that have been separated, and, especially, the care of abandoned children.

Looking back in time, the health minister gave a brief resume of the principal actions which our government has undertaken in the health field; he noted that during the first three years of independence we launched the national vaccination campaign, which reached about 85 percent of the population.

"As a result of this campaign, the incidence of prenatal tetanus and of poliomyelitis began to decline," he said.

Minister Simao next referred to the negative effects of the war of aggression on the nation's health system, noting that more than 900 health units had been destroyed or targeted for attack—more than three times, in some cases. He explained to the participants of the international conference that the situation had worsened for the health services after the war began, and it had become even more difficult to finance the health programs and activities at various levels.

Referring further to the somber picture created by the war waged by the apartheid regime through the self-styled RENAMO [Mozambique National Resistance], Dr. Leonardo Simao told the participants in that regional that the initial budget for the Health Ministry had been cut by about five percent.

"We are dependent on foreign economic aid for about 80 percent of the financing for the necessary supplies of medicines," the minister added.

"Despite this grim picture (or because of it)," continued Leonardo Simao, "our morale is high and we have faith in a better future. The political climate in our region is tending to improve and we are looking forward to the dismantling of the system of 'apartheid' in South Africa, which is the primary cause of the suffering."

This regional conference brings together national and foreign delegates, including physicians, academicians, government officials, and other individuals directly linked to the health sector; its purpose is to analyze and discuss current health topics, such as medical education oriented toward solving the problems of the community, AIDS-related matters, and also the definition of health policy in transitional and post-independence periods.

This important event was promoted by our country, the African National Congress (ANC), the London-based anti-apartheid movement, the Southern African Health

Committee, and the Committee of Physicians and Dentists of Southern Africa, among other health-related organizations.

### \* Priority Districts Program Goals Defined

90AF0107B Maputo TEMPO in Portuguese  
15 Apr 90 pp 8-12

[Article by Fernando Manuel; first paragraph is TEMPO introduction]

[Text] To restore the levels of agricultural production—particularly food crops—and of social services to 1981 standards: this is the primary goal of a bold program, designated Priority Districts Program (PDP), which has already been in quiet progress since 1988. The boldness has to do with the aforementioned and also with the multiplicity of actions to be undertaken and the extent of the areas covered by the program.

The war and natural disasters, phenomena that have been part of the daily life of Mozambique for years, have multiple—and disastrous—effects on that life. This having been said, it easily follows that, in severity and extent, these effects are not manifested uniformly over the entire social, economic and cultural fabric. It is an accepted fact that rural areas have been affected the most. Moreover, it has proven extremely difficult to foresee or to model the changes that are occurring with regard to the security situation.

In rural areas, the people have long been subjected to constant moves, with the consequent destruction of family ties, the breakup of social units, the loss of belongings and crops (harvested or not), changes in the normal conditions of production, and the consequent need to adopt new methods. As a whole, as has been said several times on other occasions and in other contexts, it is the women and children who are most particularly affected.

While it is not surprising, it should be noted that as this state of affairs persists, its effects are extended to other sectors; those most closely linked to the market find themselves at an increased level of risk—for the worse—and the appropriate incentives for their activity, since the market is no longer stable; the health posts, schools, power plants, and water systems, if not destroyed by the armed bandits, are at least subject to abnormal rates of deterioration, either for lack of use and maintenance or because they are overworked.

It is natural for the rural population to seek safer areas, and the resulting trend is toward large and uncontrolled aggregations of people, predominantly in the cities. This, in turn, has given rise to over-utilization of the natural resources; agricultural land is overburdened, the forests are being destroyed to obtain kindling or charcoal, and the demand on water resources exceeds prudent levels.

Settlement standards are not being maintained and the constant migrations of masses of people have taxed the administrative capacities, which were already mediocre.

Crowning this whole state of affairs, the burden of poverty is rapidly mounting for millions of people and, even more serious, there has been a drastic reduction in the levels of food security, increasing the need for food aid from abroad.

This, then, is the picture, as systematically portrayed by Joao Carrilho, national director of rural development (DNDR) in the Ministry of Agriculture, during an interview with TEMPO. The interview pertained to the execution of a project now in progress, designated the Priority Districts Program (PDP); there are 40 such districts, distributed throughout the country.

The PDP was launched in 1988 and several actions have been undertaken under the program since then, encompassing literally every aspect involved in restoring the standard of living.

### Antecedents

It is easily understood that the PCP was not conceived as a self-sufficient and isolated program to achieve the proposed goals. This reality led director Joao Carrilho to take time out, to put the project properly in the context of the Economic Recovery Program (PRE), launched in 1987, and of the Emergency Program (PE).

Although this is nothing new, it is important to note that the philosophy of the PRE is based on the idea of "substantially" curbing the continuing deterioration of the economy that began in 1981. We also know today that positive results may be said to have been achieved, borne out by figures that indicate a gradual improvement in the economic indicators in these past three years. Be that as it may, the PRE has also had side-effects in the social area, epitomized by the fact that the purchasing power of the most vulnerable classes has been declining regularly, contributing to the increase in the poverty levels.

With regard to the rural areas, the economic readjustment program is still not achieving real results—an aspect in which, it should be noted, the instability of the population has also played a part. Thus the Emergency Program was launched to provide basic services, particularly food aid, to the displaced and affected population, which is estimated to be in the millions.

Both the PRE and PE depend largely on foreign financial assistance, which is focused particularly on providing food aid and restoring satisfactory levels of food security.

Bearing in mind that all rural areas are not equally affected by the war, and hence that there are varying levels of insecurity and instability, it was decided to promote measures aimed at increasing agricultural production in general and, more particularly, food crops.

The Priority Districts Program was conceived as an "additional instrument in a set of actions whose common goal is the reduction of poverty, along with economic growth." The selection of the priority districts was based on their "capacity for rapid response," as determined by three criteria: availability of infrastructures, along with favorable agricultural and environmental conditions and higher population density; accessibility and availability of access routes by highway, railway, sea, river and air, with particular importance given to conditions for "voice access," i.e., telecommunications; finally, as the third criterion, there is the security factor (in which the term "security" is always modified by "relative").

Joao Carrilho emphasized that "every effort was made to avoid" regional imbalances, for which reason all 10 provinces came to be taken into consideration, generally with four districts selected in each of them—a criterion that could be said to be "political."

#### Multidisciplinary Goals

The work conducted to date could be considered "groundwork": to "decide, in consultation with the provincial and local structures, on a list of actions to be undertaken in each district," "to identify activities that are already in progress there" and to integrate them in the PDP, and "to identify local priorities" to avoid interferences, duplication of efforts or even conflicts over definition.

To give some idea of the ambitious goals underlying the PDP, we need only note that the agencies involved in it include the Ministry of Agriculture (DNDR), the ministries of Trade, Transport and Telecommunications, Construction and Water, State Administration, Health, Finance, and Education, the Institute of Physical Planning, and the Public Communications Institute, as well as "components of rural industry."

Operating within the framework of the PRE and in tandem with the PE to restore food security and to "raise the levels of social services," the PDP proposes, according to the DNDR, to "restore 1981 levels" in the 40 districts selected, without unduly sacrificing the ones which were passed over.

The goal is to reach 50 percent of the rural population and 30 percent of the population in a state of emergency, and to achieve 60 percent of the production potential for the market. Collateral effects are envisioned as the program is executed, such as the reestablishment of the administrative, economic, and social fabric—the strengthening of local structures, the rebuilding of the marketing system and of services in support to production, the resettlement of the population, and the reestablishment of the job market, as well as the recovery of the transport and communications network, production, social services and urbanization. All this entails exhaustive prior study.

With the work of systematization completed, the problem now is to move to the second phase, which will be the field work. Joao Carrilho sees this transition as not without difficulties; his attitude is primarily one of "cautious optimism." There are two problems that are posed immediately, he says. "One is of an institutional nature" and the other is "financial."

The first has to do with the need to come up with mechanisms for relations among the various institutions involved in the program, to prevent foreseeable failures of integration and coordination. The second refers to the fact that the PDP will commence under "difficult circumstances," characterized by the limits to the expansion of credit and the containment of public expenditures. "We must be able to identify the activities in a highly selective way and to choose the financial partners and forms of financing that will cover our primary needs," said the DNDR.

Joao Carrilho said the major challenge is to "ensure the deep involvement" of the three principal components—the agents of production, the local structures and the national structures—in the program.

It is appropriate here to bring up a frank question; it has to do with the role to be played by the nongovernmental organizations [ONGs] which, in one way or another, will be involved with the program. Experience has demonstrated that assigning a managerial or executive role to the ONGs greatly limits the capacity of the national component to intervene; moreover, once the term of the contract has expired, the ONGs pull out, which almost always condemns the project to extinction.

If, as is clear, the PDP is a challenge in itself, its various components present many other challenging problems. The timely solution of these challenges will determine, in large part, the achievement of the proposed objective—which, as noted, is to reach millions of peasants.

#### \* State Medical Fund Benefits Poor

90AF0108A Maputo TEMPO in Portuguese  
15 Apr 90 pp 19-23

[Article by Arnaldo Henrique; first paragraph is TEMPO introduction]

[Text] The chronically ill and people who are verifiably indigent do not have to go without medical treatment. Since August 1989, they have benefited from a state fund which subsidizes the cost of medicines and of infant food supplements.

Marieta Manica, who appeared to be over 40 years old, was in the pharmacy of the Bagamoyo Hospital when she was approached by TEMPO in late February. She had just picked up two of the four types of medicines that had been prescribed for her. When asked if she would return the next day to purchase the others, she replied: "No, because I don't have any money or any way to get it. I am alone and without means."



Cases such as this one are numerous, even though the State Fund for Medicines and Infant Food Supplements (FSM) has been in operation since last August. The Fund finances all or part of the cost of medicines for people in extreme poverty or for whom the cost of medicine places too large a burden on the family income.

The FSM also covers individuals who are chronically ill and who lack the financial ability to acquire medicines, war refugees and victims of natural disasters, individuals interned in state social institutions, individuals with physical disabilities who are unable to work, and other groups in need of assistance. The FSM also subsidizes the cost of milk and pabulum for children with nutritional deficiencies.

Although the FSM was created in 1988 and has been functioning since last August, many people are unaware of its existence, even people who for one reason or another are in need of public assistance. Moreover, according to statements by health personnel at some hospitals in Maputo City, in many cases the care givers themselves are not yet familiar with the FSM regulation, which has the force of law.

According to Ancha Dabula, a technician in the pharmacy of the Chamanculo Hospital, the FSM was introduced hurriedly. "We who have to apply the law only learned about it in July," she said, adding that "it is up to other structures to publicize this law." This was confirmed by Dr Igrejas Campos, vice minister of health, who said that, considering the size of the country, it was difficult to get the word to the public in such a short time. "It is difficult even in Maputo City," he said.

According to Dr Igrejas Campos, the Health Ministry held four regional seminars, one of which was in the nation's capital, in which the objectives and functions of the FSM were explained. However, Dr Campos said, "neither the public nor the care givers are adequately informed yet. But all the work of disseminating information about this fund is continuing," he assured.

People who lack resources must present a certification of indigence to the health units in order to receive FSM assistance. The document must be issued by the administrative authorities in the locale where the interested party resides. This is stipulated in the FSM regulation.

At the Chamanculo Hospital, according to Ancha Dabula, there are very few patients who cannot afford the cost of the medicines. However, she noted: "For those few who do come to me, I ask for proof of their inability to pay, since, according to the law, I have to justify anything I dispense without charge."

At the Machava General Hospital, where even the health personnel sometimes forego treatment "for lack of money," according to pharmacist Alberto Hause, outpatients seldom give up their treatment.

"We never turn away a patient without treating him," the druggist said.

Sometimes problems arise in obtaining the document certifying someone as indigent. According to Dr Igrejas Campos, the Health Ministry is finding that the administrative structures in the districts are not in a very good position to issue the certification. "They have all kinds of problems; they may not even have the paper to issue a certificate of indigence," he said.

For this reason, the Health Ministry is considering the possibility of changing some aspects of the regulation, to simplify the application of the FSM. According to Dr Igrejas Campos, the Fund has already been fairly successful.

### Unfounded Suspicion

With the growing increase in the cost of living, many families have been pushed into severe poverty. It is also important to mention the families that have been separated or that have lost part or all of their belongings as a result of the war. In urban centers such as Maputo City, the concentration of these people is so great as to reduce the social and health infrastructures to insignificance. One result of this situation is the spread of certain epidemics.

All this is leading people to assume, for example, that because of unemployment and the inability of many families to afford the cost of medical treatment, there is increasing resort to the services of the religious sects, the medicine men, and the witch doctors. However, this suspicion is unfounded, at least as it concerns the cost of the medicines, which even people earning a reasonable wage can ill afford.

The late Dr Orlando Mendes, who conducted research into traditional medicine, ruled out this assumption during a conversation which took place before an interview which TEMPO was to have had with him. According to Dr Mendes, the fees charged by the practitioners of the traditional medicine also follow the rising trend in prices, and their remedies and services are much more expensive than those of conventional medicine.

Dr Igrejas Campos does not see the return to traditional medicine as a result of the prices charged by the hospital services. "If our prices are high, those of traditional medicine are prohibitive," he said, stressing that it did not seem to him that people are abandoning conventional treatment for the traditional medicine because of the prices.

"What happens is that the people have their own cultural conceptions and they alternate between one system and the other," Dr Igrejas explained. He added that, because they believe that certain ailments have spiritual or supernatural causes, some people go to the medicine man or consult the witch doctor first, and see the physician only later. In certain cases, this leads to interruptions in the medical treatment, because some patients want to alternate between the conventional and the traditional treatments.



"We advise our personnel to avoid these interruptions. If someone wants the traditional treatment, he should go and get it and then come to the Health Center," Dr Igrejas Campos said.

Because of the difficulty in bringing them from the jungle, the traditional remedies are very high in price. According to Mario Mandlate, a medicine man and salesman of the remedies of his profession in Xipamanine, most of the roots and other remedies are difficult to find. "In past years, many of the best remedies came from Inhambane and Gaza. With the war, these sources have practically dried up," Mandlate said.

#### **FSM: Alternative for the Poor**

According to Dr Igrejas Campos, the Health Ministry does not have data regarding the number of people who have benefited from the State Fund for Medicines. However, considering that, from August to December 1989, the Fund disbursed 71,300 contos, representing about 30 percent of the medicine dispensed in the pharmacies of the health units for outpatients, the beneficiaries would number in the hundreds of thousands. According to Dr Igrejas Campos, these are preliminary data, which do not cover all the provinces or all the districts in some provinces.

According to the vice minister of health, the government finances 90 percent of the cost of medicines for outpatients and 100 percent for hospitalized patients.

An accord signed in February with the Swedish Government, by which that government will finance the FSM, will relieve the Mozambican Government of this burden.

With regard to food supplements (milk and pabulum) for infants, the FSM financed about 2,000 contos of the respective costs, benefiting 231 children. This is an insignificant number, which Dr Campos said was because of a stock shortage at the store where the products are sold.

The State Fund for Medicines and Infant Food Supplements could have greater impact. But the Fund alone is not going to solve the problem of poverty. Other action is necessary so that the people whose productivity has been impeded will be able to provide for themselves again. In short, it is not so much a matter of giving assistance to the poor as it is one of promoting the means to enable them to participate in production. It is all too evident that this involves restoring peace. "Many people are living in the cities, but their problems can only be solved in the countryside—not through any "Operation-Production," but through the creation of certain conditions and incentives to motivate the people to return to rural areas," the vice minister of health said.

## Liberia

### Reportage on Government-Rebel Situation

#### Statement Urges Peace Talks

AB3005093690 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English  
0730 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] The women of Liberia have said the effects of the war in the country have caused thousands of fear-stricken victims to seek refuge in neighboring countries. They have, therefore, appealed for an immediate ceasefire in the fighting between the Liberian Government and the invading rebel forces. In their position statement, presented to acting Information Minister Moses Washington yesterday, the women said the massive destruction of human lives and properties because of the fighting has (?kicked) the consciences of Liberian and foreign residents of our nation.

The statement, which was read by Mrs. (Cecilia Stewart) said the men on the battlefield were the rich human resources of Liberia and as such our source to a brighter future. They are our sons, our fathers, our brothers, our husbands, and relatives; why then destroy them? the women asked. The women further said they were on their knees begging for peace conferences to be organized in an effort to bring both parties at [words indistinct] mutual consent. They also urged the warring factions to think about the effects of the crisis and come together as Liberians in order to build a vibrant and sustainable nation.

Receiving the document, acting Information Minister Moses Washington thanked the women for the statement which he said contained words of peace, courage, and suggestions for lasting solutions to the many problems the country was confronted with. He said the present crisis in the country, especially the wanton destruction of innocent lives in Grand Bassa and Nimba Counties, and the recent waves of killings in Monrovia, must be condemned by all peaceloving Liberians. Minister Washington assured the women that their statement would be delivered to President Doe, and urged them to continue praying for peace and tranquillity to return to Liberia.

#### 27 Reported 'Kidnapped'

AB3005125690 Paris AFP in English 1238 GMT  
30 May 90

[Text] Monrovia, May 30 (AFP)—Armed men in Liberian military uniform raided a United Nations office here Wednesday and shot dead one person, wounded two and abducted several refugees in an apparent death squad raid, witnesses said.

The attack was aimed at several hundred members of the Gio and Mano tribes who have taken refuge at the U.N. mission here in face of death squad-type attacks in recent days. A spokesman for the refugees, Joseph Leeway, said he had a list of 27 kidnapped people. They are presumed dead, he said.

The U.N. representative in Liberia, Michael Feyn, said he had reported the "unbelievable" attack to U.N. headquarters in New York and was complaining to Liberian President Samuel Doe.

Guard Jerry Samu, who was stabbed in the back, told reporters a group of armed men forced their way into the U.N. compound in the early hours and took away several Gios and Manos, stripping them and forcing them into a waiting Army jeep.

The Gio and Mano tribes are said to make up the bulk of rebels of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) which is reported at the gates of this capital in its bid to overthrow President Doe.

Mr. Samu said the eight men, dressed in Army uniform, accused him of harboring rebels, and would have kidnapped him if he had been a Gio or a Mano. He said the dead man, also a guard, was shot because he was from Nimba County, in north-east Liberia, where the NPFL leader, former civil servant Charles Taylor, launched his rebellion last December 24. Another guard was wounded.

Mr. Leeway said there had been similar attacks on the homes of Gios and Manos in several parts of Monrovia, and the tribesmen were appealing for international protection.

Women whose husbands were taken away were seen weeping for them. The armed men also beat women and children before leaving the area. Reporters were shown a bloody plastic sheet on which the man who was shot dead was placed and the garments of abducted people.

The dead man was identified as Martin Quaqua, and his body was said to have been taken away by the attackers. Blood and bullet impacts could be seen all over the place of the murder.

Last week several headless bodies, believed to be those of Gios and Manos, were found in different parts of Monrovia, and hundreds of tribespeople asked for protection at the U.N. compound complaining of harassment and intimidation by men in uniform. No arrests have been made.

The killings have been condemned by Nimba County legislators and by President Doe.

Wednesday foreign diplomats from the United States, Britain, France, West Germany and Nigeria visited the U.N. compound seeking information about the attack.

#### Government Troops in Buchanan

AB3005173990 Paris AFP in English 1556 GMT  
30 May 90

[By Christian Spillman]

[Text] Buchanan, Liberia, May 30 (AFP)—Government troops were putting up stiff resistance Wednesday in this key iron ore port 200 kilometres (120 miles) from the Liberian capital Monrovia as rebels tried to flush them out.

Bloody fighting the past four days has left the streets littered with corpses, and the smell of decomposing bodies is unbearable.

Rebel leader Charles Taylor arrived on Tuesday to supervise operations. His men hold the city of 100,000 inhabitants and its surrounds. In a brief interview with AFP, he said the populace had been evacuated to clear the way for a push against the last government forces without risk to civilian lives. Several hundred townspeople, mostly women and children, have headed north to rebel-held zones on foot.

Buchanan has been a dead city since Tuesday. The rebels are combing it house by house for soldiers who are putting up desperate resistance. The rebels are on unfamiliar terrain, being more used to waiting in ambush in the countryside than to street fighting where it is the enemy's turn to be invisible.

The National Patriotic Front of Liberia took the town on May 19. Six days later it fell to a counter-thrust by 500 government troops sent from Camp Schiffrin near Monrovia. Most of them were killed, however, the rebels say, and some surrendered.

The remainder have been encircled since Saturday. They are trying to break out to get back to Monrovia, but the rebels are clearly barring any possibility of fleeing by road.

Mr. Taylor, whose death was yet again reported by the authorities on Tuesday night's television news, said the NPLF remained determined to topple President Samuel Doe and take him alive if possible so as to put him on trial.

But the rebel chief was very evasive about when an offensive would be mounted against the capital.

### BBC Reports on Situation

AB3005193490 London BBC World Service in English  
1615 GMT 30 May 90

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] As Charles Taylor's rebels in Liberia are almost knocking on the gates of the capital, Monrovia, things in the city are turning nasty. Last week decapitated and mutilated bodies of Gio and Mano soldiers from Nimba County, where the rebellion began, began turning up on the streets and there was a spate of abductions. Gios and Manos, fearing for their lives, tried to find shelter, many of them in the compound of United Nations. But last night, soldiers launched a bloody raid on the compound, knifing, shooting, and kidnapping.

On the line, Timothy Ecott asked the UN representative, Michael Heyn, what had happened?

[Begin recording] [Heyn] I am told we had several hundred people who had gathered on the compound last night, starting about 8 or 9 o'clock. I am told the figure

went up to several hundred, possibly almost 1,000. They were sleeping on the compound and everything was apparently quite peaceful and then at about 3 or 3:30 in the morning, Army soldiers pulled up at the gate behind the compound and they were asking the guards to let them enter the compound. They told them that they knew that there were rebels on this compound and that they wanted to take them away. The guards told them they could not come in.

[Ecott] What did the soldiers or these men do when the guards said they couldn't get into the compound?

[Heyn] The soldiers, at that point, forced their way in. They stabbed one of the guards. I am told they shot and killed another guard and shot a further guard. I have seen the guard who was stabbed. He was still here when I came to the compound at 0700 this morning; he had blood all over him. He had a wound on his back. We got a doctor over here and he is now at the hospital. Following that, they came into the compound and began to terrorize the people, continuing to shoot, and pursuing other people who were trying to get over the wall and out. They followed some of them. We're told that they bayoneted a young boy, opened up his side, they pursued others; they shot others; we do not know exactly how many. All I have confirmation is that one person was killed, several were seriously wounded, some were taken away then, but not only some, as many as somewhere between 30 and 40 men, women, and children were taken into the army trucks and taken away.

[Ecott] On what basis did these soldiers take these people away? I mean, why did they take some people away and what happened to the rest?

[Heyn] I think they were just indiscriminately trying to grab whoever they could grab and catch. They were claiming that they were all basically rebels, because they were from Nimba County. They said that they were after these people for those reasons and they just tried to grab whoever they could. We were told that they grabbed people with children in their arms and threw them on them truck. [end recording]

Michael Heyn, the UN representative in Monrovia.

Well, this afternoon, President Doe himself went down to the United Nations compound to talk to diplomats about last night's incident, but found himself talking with the people who had experienced the raid in an extraordinary confrontation. Here's part of the exchange.

[Begin Doe recording] I want you to know that those people who are doing this kind of thing, they are doing it on their own. And I am going to deal with them drastically. You are my citizens. If you are not happy, I am not happy. I want you to believe me that the people who are going around [background noise of children crying,

shouting by the crowd, a woman screaming—Doe interrupts his address and shouts: "Hey! No, no, hey!") We are going to provide you with security [A woman shouts—"Take me from Monrovia! I want to know when are you going to (?present me to my husband)"—followed by people shouting, screaming] [end recording]

Samuel Doe facing the crowd at the UN compound in Monrovia. Well, our correspondent Elizabeth Blunt was there too. On the line, Mark Doyle asked her if President Doe had lost control of the crowd?

[Begin recording] [Blunt] No, he didn't. As you can probably hear, things slipped a bit at one point, but I think when he... [changes thought] The people that were shouting and pushing forward, he said to one woman in particular: Come here, come here. And she came right up and talked to him and that calmed her down a bit. And then another man came forward and spoke to him. And he spoke to them personally and individually before he left. But as he left, the crowd was booing him even the young men in the crowd were booing and hissing and also taunting the soldiers who were with him.

[Doyle] Did you get the impression that President Doe was surprised at this reaction?

[Blunt] No, I thought, I must say I thought he was surprisingly brave to have come to this place this afternoon and confront the people because I think he could have guessed that he would have a difficult reception, to say the least. And the crowd was quite hostile and pressing right forward. It was quite scaring. But the president handled it very plainly and simply, but quite well, finally. But it was a very difficult occasion and he is certainly not a personal coward if he can come and confront the people like that.

[Doyle] And what is the scene at the United Nations compound now?

[Blunt] When I left, there was still a huge crowd there. I'm very bad at estimating crowds, but I would have thought 300 or 400 people. They have been there most of the day. The numbers have got larger, in fact, during the day rather than smaller. I asked them where they would sleep tonight and they said they couldn't think where else they could go. They would probably stay there.

[Doyle] Now, if the numbers are rising, does that mean that Gio and Mano people are still being hassled in Monrovia and having to go to take refuge at the UN compound?

[Blunt] Well, yes, certainly. After what happened last night, it did seem for a day or two after some very strong statements by the government that the activities of the [word indistinct] terrorist squads going around at night have slowed down. I mean it really wasn't (?too) bad. But what happened last night seems to have put everything right back to square one again, the people can be attacked just in the very place where they felt safe. And the 30 or so people who were taken away, there has been

no sign of them either alive or dead. So no one knows what has happened, and certainly the people who are there, their friends and relatives fear the worst

[Doyle] And has there been any word on any soldiers having been detained, or arrested, or dealt with for their alleged involvement in last night's mayhem?

[Blunt] Not yet, and I think if there had been the president would have said so when he spoke to the people. [end recording]

### Doe Orders Executions

AB3005174390 Paris AFP in English 1729 GMT  
30 May 90

[Text] Monrovia, May 30 (AFP)—Liberian President Samuel Doe on Wednesday ordered the execution of any soldier caught harassing citizens after men in uniform attacked the United Nations office here.

Mr. Doe issued the directive following a visit to the U.N. compound where armed men wearing military uniforms shot dead one person, wounded another and abducted several others earlier Wednesday, the president's office said.

Several hundred members of the Gio and Mano tribe from Nimba County, where rebels last year launched a continuing campaign to overthrow the regime, had taken refuge in the compound following death squad attacks in recent days.

At the U.N. compound, Mr. Doe said the government was not a party to "this ugly thing", alluding to the brutal killings in Monrovia in the last 10 days.

He promised people food and security protection amid wailing and weeping from women and children in the compound.

Mr. Doe instructed the defense minister to assign soldiers to guard the refugees. He said he was prepared to secure them at the Executive Mansion (official residence) if they "feel insecure on the U.N. compound".

Angry Manos and Gios shouted to soldiers accompanying Mr. Doe "kill us, kill all of us", and booed the president as he left the compound. Mr. Doe's directive comes in the wake of brutal killings and countless complaints of harassment by soldiers.

Meanwhile, the Liberia Council of Churches condemned the continuous killings of innocent people and called on the government to investigate.

In a statement read out Wednesday in Saint Peter's Lutheran Church in Monrovia, the council called on the government and rebel forces to stop the killings. Opposition political parties have also condemned the killings and the attack on the U.N. office.



Leaders of the opposition Liberia Action Party and the Unity Party described the act as "uncivilized and barbaric".

#### **Perez De Cuellar Orders Evacuation**

*AB3005212090 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English  
2000 GMT 30 May 90*

[Text] It has been announced in New York that the UN secretary general, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, has ordered the immediate evacuation of all United Nations personnel in Liberia. According to a spokesman for the United Nations, the UN secretary general has in a telex message to President Samuel Kanyon Doe, demanded that he guarantee the safety of the people who have sought refuge at the United Nations Offices in Monrovia. This move comes in the wake of an attack on the United Nations compound in Monrovia, where several hundred people of the Gio and Mano ethnic groups have been taking refuge.

Meanwhile, the National Disaster Relief Commission and the United Nations have announced that the food distribution program for displaced people has been indefinitely postponed.

#### **Senators Offer To Resign**

*AB3005222090 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English  
2000 GMT 30 May 90*

[Text] Most of the Liberian Senate today offered to resign rather than hold early elections, which they considered unconstitutional. The senators said they would not subscribe to violating the national Constitution in a bid to restore peace to the nation, and maintained that they were willing to step down in order to bring peace to Liberia. The senators made their position known today in the Senate Chambers, where they deliberated on a communication from President Samuel K. Doe concerning early elections in an effort to bring peace to Liberia.

Lofa County Senator Keikura Kpoto in his argument said the outside world will not take us serious if we contravene the Constitution because of this crisis, adding, I stand ready to resign instead of violating the Liberian Constitution. Bomi County Senator Ballah K.M. Davis said it would be a bad precedence to abrogate the national Constitution, and suggested that it would be better for the entire senate to step down instead of violating the Constitution. Maryland County Senator J. Barney Taylor said if the safety and security of the state so requires, it would be better for the people to [words indistinct] the government and institute a new one that would guarantee their safety and happiness.

Grand Bassa County Senator Charles Williams noted that the president does not represent the supreme and fundamental law of Liberia, and said he, Williams, prefers to tender his resignation immediately, than to subscribe to the violation of the Liberian Constitution. Grand Kru County Senator Arthur D. Brown observed

that the president is asking his advisers to help him to violate the Constitution, saying, it seems that things are out of hand, but maintained that they cannot manipulate the Liberian Constitution.

Grand Cape Mount County Senator Tambakai Jangaba said the issue of election at this time was impractical, because many Liberians were scattered in other countries. Senator Jangaba, who is president pro tempore of the Liberian Senate, said he prefers to quit and not to subscribe to abrogating the Constitution in this fashion. Nimba County Senator David Toweh said since the president has said that he is willing to make any sacrifice for the nation in the interest of peace, let the president step down, according to his own suggestion.

Sinoe County Senator Lawson Draper said the president's personality is declining, noting that one of the enemies of the state is the erosion of the president's personality, and said that the president needs to make that sacrifice he had spoken about.

#### **Rebels 'Set To Attack'**

*AB3105131290 Paris AFP in English 1259 GMT  
31 May 90*

[Text] Monrovia, May 31 (AFP)—Liberian rebels have asked employees at Roberts International Airport to leave because they are set to attack, the STANDARD newspaper reported Thursday.

The paper, quoting "a highly placed source," said the National Patriotic Front rebels gave the warning in a telex to airport manager John Collins. It did not say when the telex message was sent.

But the paper said employees have continued to stay away from work and were evacuating dependents to Monrovia. The airport is 35 miles (55 kms) from here.

It also said employees of the U.S.-based Firestone Plantation Company, Liberia's largest rubber plantation, left work several hours early Tuesday while shops and stores were closed. Vehicles quickly left the streets following a warning by government troops in the area to stay indoors. The Firestone Plantation is just a few miles (kms) from the airport, and employees there are said to be worried about rebel advances from Buchanan where heavy fighting is reportedly underway between troops and rebels, who launched their bid to unseat President Samuel Doe last December.

Fear gripped residents near the airport and the Firestone plantations when rebels told the British Broadcasting Corporation they were just 10 miles (16 kms) from the airport.

In a related development, more than 50 dead and wounded government soldiers were taken to Monrovia on Tuesday amid heavy fighting in Buchanan. The STANDARD said a truck transporting the dead and wounded broke down on the highway and two pickups from the airport were called in to help.

The paper identified one of the dead as Colonel D. Henneh Appleton of the special anti-terrorist unit. The report, which has been neither confirmed nor denied by authorities here, is creating concern among commercial airlines. Ghana Airways suspended its Thursday flights to Monrovia and were meeting to decide whether they should suspend flights indefinitely.

Meanwhile, hundreds of Guineans, mostly members of the Mandingo tribe accused by rebels of supporting President Samuel Doe, are leaving here daily in large trucks for Guinea for fear of being attacked.

Rebels of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia are led by Charles Taylor, a former senior civil servant who fled to the United States in 1984 after authorities in Monrovia charged him with corruption.

### **Nigeria Denies Rumors**

*AB3105081490 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English  
0709 GMT 31 May 90*

[Text] The Nigerian Government today denied rumors circulating in and around Monrovia that it is involved in the internal conflict between the Liberian Government and rebel forces. The Nigerian Government has, therefore, called on those individuals spreading such negative information to realize that their government has fully supported noninterference in the internal affairs of other states as enshrined in the Charters of the OAU, the United Nations, and other welfare organizations.

### **Newsline Installed To Counter Rumors**

*AB2905211290 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English  
1710 GMT 25 May 90*

[Text] The Liberian Information Center in Washington D.C. has established a telephone line to enable interested persons to call for information on Liberia. The center, which is located in the national press building in Washington, will present an objective newscast from Liberia on major events in the country.

In a telephone interview with LINA [LIBERIA NEWS AGENCY] yesterday, information minister, Emmanuel Bowier, said the establishment of the newsline is to counteract rumors being circulated against Liberia by opposition politicians and others who do not have interest in the Liberian Government.

### **Nigeria**

#### **\* Aikhomu Accuses Media, Implements Decree 59**

*34000648B Lagos THE AFRICAN GUARDIAN  
in English 23 Apr 90 p 29*

[Article by Mike Ubani]

[Text] It was as if last week's quarterly press briefing held at the Nnamdi Azikiwe Press Centre, in Dodan Barracks, was deliberately planned to malign and intimidate the

media. At least, the Chief of General Staff (CGS) Vice-Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, did not hide government's disenchantment with the conduct of journalists, and by extension, the media.

Without equivocation, the CGS told media executives who were present to listen to the usual explanations of government's actions that journalists have allowed miscreants, who, according to him, were bent on besmirching the image of the government to hijack the media. He did not stop there. He accused the media of leading the campaign "to bring down this government."

So, at the end of deliberations that day, officials of the ministry of information, to the chagrin of most journalists, were dutifully distributing copies of the controversial Nigerian media Council Decree 59 of 1988, which was published in the government official gazette 89.

Ironically, the Nigerian Press Organisation (NPO), comprising the Nigerian Union of Journalists (NUJ); Newspapers Proprietors Association of Nigeria (NPAN), and the Nigerian Guild of Editors (NGE), had in the last two years, mounted a spirited campaign for the amendment of some sections of the decree. Specifically, NPO was incensed at the composition of the media council, and the provision which gave it power to register journalists as well as enforce professional ethics.

But at various fora, Momoh had announced that the NPO had agreed to play ball with government. However, officials of the NPO had advised its members not to touch the Media Council Decree, even with the longest of poles. Mr Tola Ogunlusi, NPO's general scribe told THE AFRICAN GUARDIAN last month that his members would never subscribe to the decree except the contentious provisions were expunged. Chief Segun Osoba, immediate past managing director of DAILY TIMES, and NPO president, shares the same view. According to him, "Journalists would be signing their death warrants" if they embrace the Media Council decree.

Last week when the official gazette embodying the decree was circulated, the NPO and government had not reached a compromise. So what is the government up to? Some keen observers of the unfolding drama say that, by releasing the gazette, the government was bent on implementing the provisions of the decree.

Be that as it may, there seems to be a consensus among senior journalists who, perhaps, have digested the contents of the decree, that is a bad piece of legislation.

#### **\* Efforts To Manage 'National Question' Urged**

*34000651B Lagos THE GUARDIAN  
in English 26 Apr 90 p 8*

[Text] Last Sunday's failed coup attempt contained within it the seeds of its own failure. The reasons given by the plotters were not entirely spurious, but a bloody take-over and the pitting of one section against another

section of the country could only have exacerbated the problems that the coup makers said they were concerned to solve.

The purported temporary excision of five states in the north from the rest of Nigeria was a throw-back to the days before amalgamation. Had it been implemented, it would have meant a loss to all Nigerians of virtually all the gains of living together in one corporate entity, the imperfections of the system notwithstanding. The massive population movements that would have followed the purported excision had the potential to lead to widespread unrest and even a civil war.

The conditions prescribed for re-admittance of the excised states would have reduced the indigenes of those states to a conquered people. Such conditions were bound to be bitterly resented, if not resisted. By reducing the coup to a kind of village feud that could be settled only by a gang-up of some regions of the country against one region, the putschists lost all claims to a high-minded desire to right whatever wrongs they had identified in the system.

In short, the coup was ill-conceived, and its failure did not come as a surprise. Even if they had not been out-manoeuvred in combat, the plotters, given their agenda, would have had on their hands the exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, task of carrying along with them the vast majority of Nigerians whose cause they said they had come to champion.

Yet, it would be a grave mistake to dismiss their agenda as entirely gratuitous. Part of the plotters' case was anchored on the national question—the basis and the terms and the institutions that should govern the co-existence of the various nationalities in Nigeria.

The national question has been with us since the amalgamation. It was pushed to the background during the nationalist struggle, the better to face the common adversary in the guise of British colonialism. It was subsumed under the compromise that had to be made so that independence might be won. The fragility of the Nigerian nation, which led to widespread disturbances four years after independence and exploded into a civil war in 1967, had its roots in the national question.

If the dilatoriness of politicians could not confront the issue forthrightly, the vaunted cohesiveness and decisiveness of soldiers have proved just as ineffectual. In the last five years or so, the national question has come to loom much larger in the nation's life. There is a growing perception that in the distribution of rewards, some sections of the country by design or default consistently profit much more than others.

This perception may be wrong, but it exists. It must be admitted and confronted. To deny it would be to leave in the hands of dissidents, a powerful political weapon with which to stir up another insurrection. If it is well to realize that, in politics, perception counts for almost everything,

The national question cannot be wished away. It cannot, of course, be resolved overnight or completely, to everyone's satisfaction. But it can be managed sensitively and imaginatively to mitigate the bitterness that ran through the coup makers' broadcast on the one hand, and the genuine and deep-seated complaints of several other nationalities within the Nigerian fold on the other.

The coup, we insist, was ill-conceived, and its agenda thoroughly objectionable even if it is a poignant reminder since the civil war that the national question remains an open wound. There is already a programme to return the country to civil rule which, by its representative nature, provides the forum and weapon for all sections and groups to canvass their interest.

This method is always to be preferred to resolving issues through violence. The mutineers were clearly headed to plunge the country into a bitter and prolonged chaos and civil war. The sensible thing ought to be to allow the transition programme run its course. Nigeria has had enough bloodshed.

#### \* Passport Controls Urged for Drug Peddlers

34000629A Lagos *THE GUARDIAN in English*  
16 Apr 90 p 8

[Text] All over the world, Nigerians are making a disgraceful spectacle of themselves and rubbing the country's image in the mud. The most recent instance comes from far away Thailand where as many as 57 Nigerians have been arraigned for alleged attempt to smuggle heroin. Two others were also made to undergo the humiliation of a press photo session alongside their material evidence. Another died when a heroin filled condom he had ingested got burst. Such unpleasant stories are becoming all too frequent. Whether it is in Britain, the U. S., India or Zimbabwe, the behaviour of Nigerians is casting a dark image on the country. It is only cold comfort to say that the number with criminal propensities are few and that the overwhelming majority of Nigerians are honest, hardworking intelligent folk. The fact is that the predilections of the few criminally disposed get-rich-quick elements tend to frame the perception foreigners have of the country. Consequently, many an innocent Nigerian abroad is given an unduly hard time, made to face the full rigours of customs and immigration formalities, sometimes to an unbecoming degree. The discomfiture of the authorities with the ugly perception and treatment of Nigerians abroad was well expressed last week by the chairman of the Nigerian Drug Enforcement Agency, Mr Fidellis Oyakhilome at a conference in London. But the criminally disposed evidently remain unimpressed by the stiff penalties that await transgressors of the laws of other lands especially those relating to drug smuggling. Those currently in arraignment in Thailand stand in the shadows of the death penalty. The odium drawn by the behaviour of those Nigerians is worsened by the fact that we have no diplomatic representation in Thailand and our affairs are being looked after by the British. Unless a stop is put



to Nigerians' involvement in the pernicious traffic in the Golden Triangle, our image will continue to take a beating and the British may rue the day when they accepted to take on our consular responsibilities. While the government cannot be expected to guarantee the behaviour of Nigerians abroad, it can ensure that its agencies charged with the enforcement of statutory regulations do their work properly. For instance, it ought to be impossible for people to acquire more than one passport thus making it possible to monitor their movements and activities. But this does not mean increasing the bureaucratic maze people have to wade through to get a passport. It means putting a stop to the corruption in the bureaucracy which facilitates the activities of crooks and drug pedlars.

**\* NNPC, Gulf Discuss \$500 Million Gas Project**

34000629B Lagos *THE GUARDIAN in English*  
18 Apr 90 p 24

[Article by Akinyemi Taiwo: "Gulf Oil, NNPC Begin Talks on N46b Gas Gathering"]

[Text] The Gulf Oil Company (Nigeria) Limited (GOCON) and its joint venture partners, Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) are now meeting on a N46 billion (\$500 million) gas gathering and distribution project for nation. Already, studies have been concluded on the project, which is designed to make gas more available to end users, especially the Egbin Terminal Station in Ikorodu area of Lagos State. GOCON's managing director, Mr Donald M. Mahura, who dropped the hint yesterday when he visited Lagos State Governor, Colonel Raji Rasaki, at Alausa, said

when completed, the project would tied to the existing Escarvos Lagos pipeline. Besides, the company plans to spend about N16 billion in the next five years on oil exploration and production activities. This will significantly boost not only the company's but also the nation's proven reserves. It will also increase Nigeria's revenue base from the oil sector that accounts for about 80 percent of our foreign exchange earnings. Mahura, leading a seven-man delegation, told the governor that GOCON remains the nation's largest offshore producer and second largest oil company in Nigeria, producing 18 percent of our total daily output. According to him, the company has since its inception 29 years ago, created and maintained a mutually beneficial relationship with its various host communities. He explained that the company strived to maintain a sensitive approach to the needs of the people in its area of operations with a view to raising their living standard. Announcing a N50,000 donation on behalf of NNPC/GOCON joint venture towards the building of classroom blocks for schools in Lekki area, Mahura said the company believed that indigenes of oil producing areas ought to derive greater benefits from the company than others. With the donation, the state's rural development directorate seemed to have a first taste of success in its efforts to involve the private sector in the rural development activities. Mahura noted that it was the philosophy of the company to embark on long-lasting projects that informed its investment in the areas of health, education and lately agriculture. Besides, the company awards scholarships to 63 Nigerian students in tertiary institutions each year on the basis of three awards to each state. Strictly on merit, he said the scholarships were awarded for professional courses such as geology.

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